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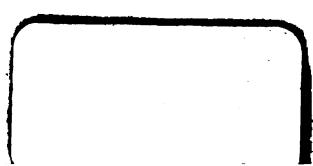
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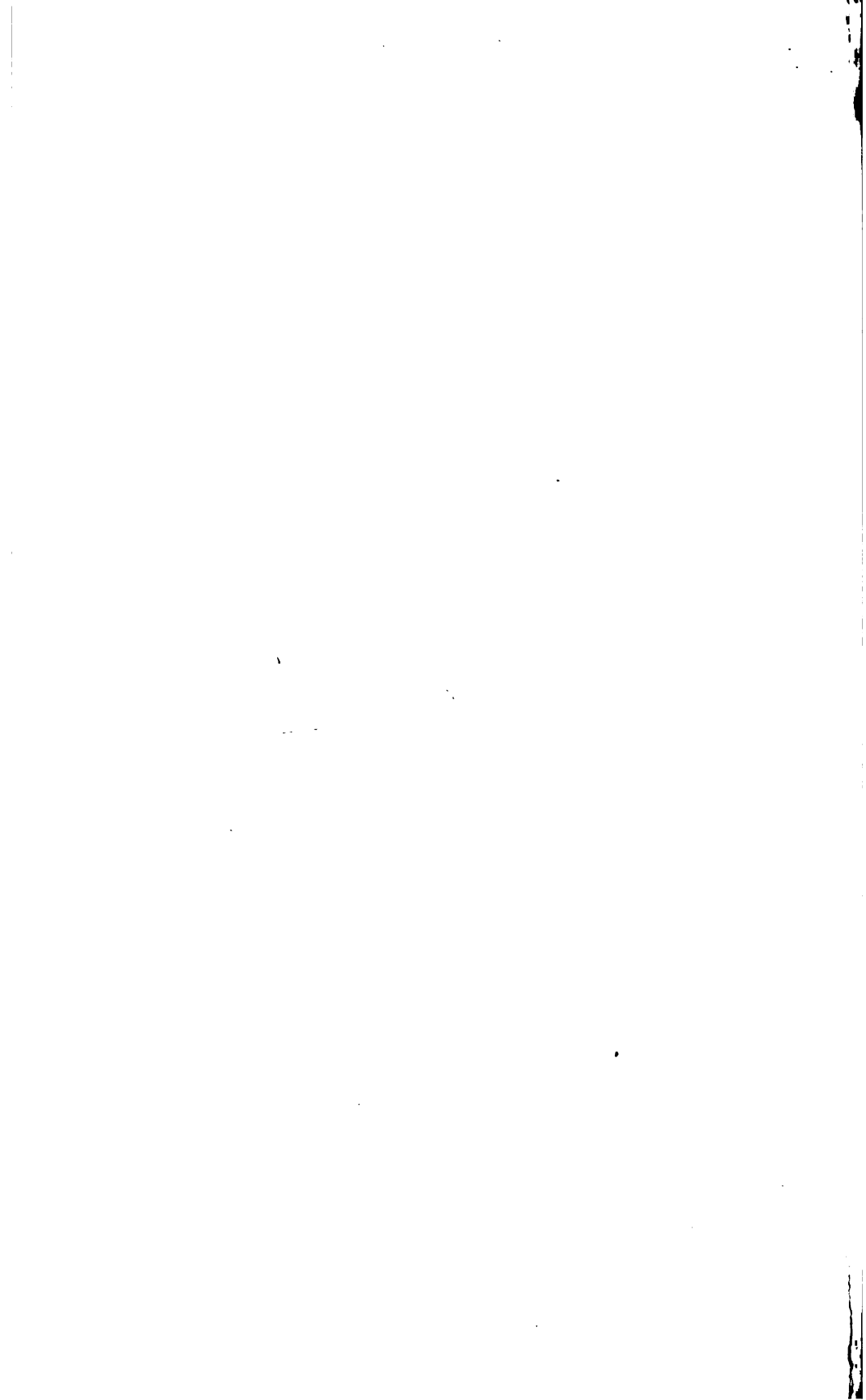
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Alfred

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Issued as a Supplement to Vol. II, No. 4.

The Quarterly Journal

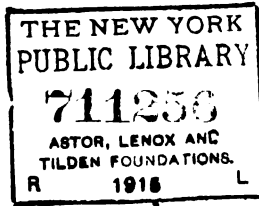
of the

Society of American Indians



Volume II
1914

Published by
THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN INDIANS
Washington, D. C.
1914



Editor-General
ARTHUR C. PARKER

Carlisle Indian Press
Printers

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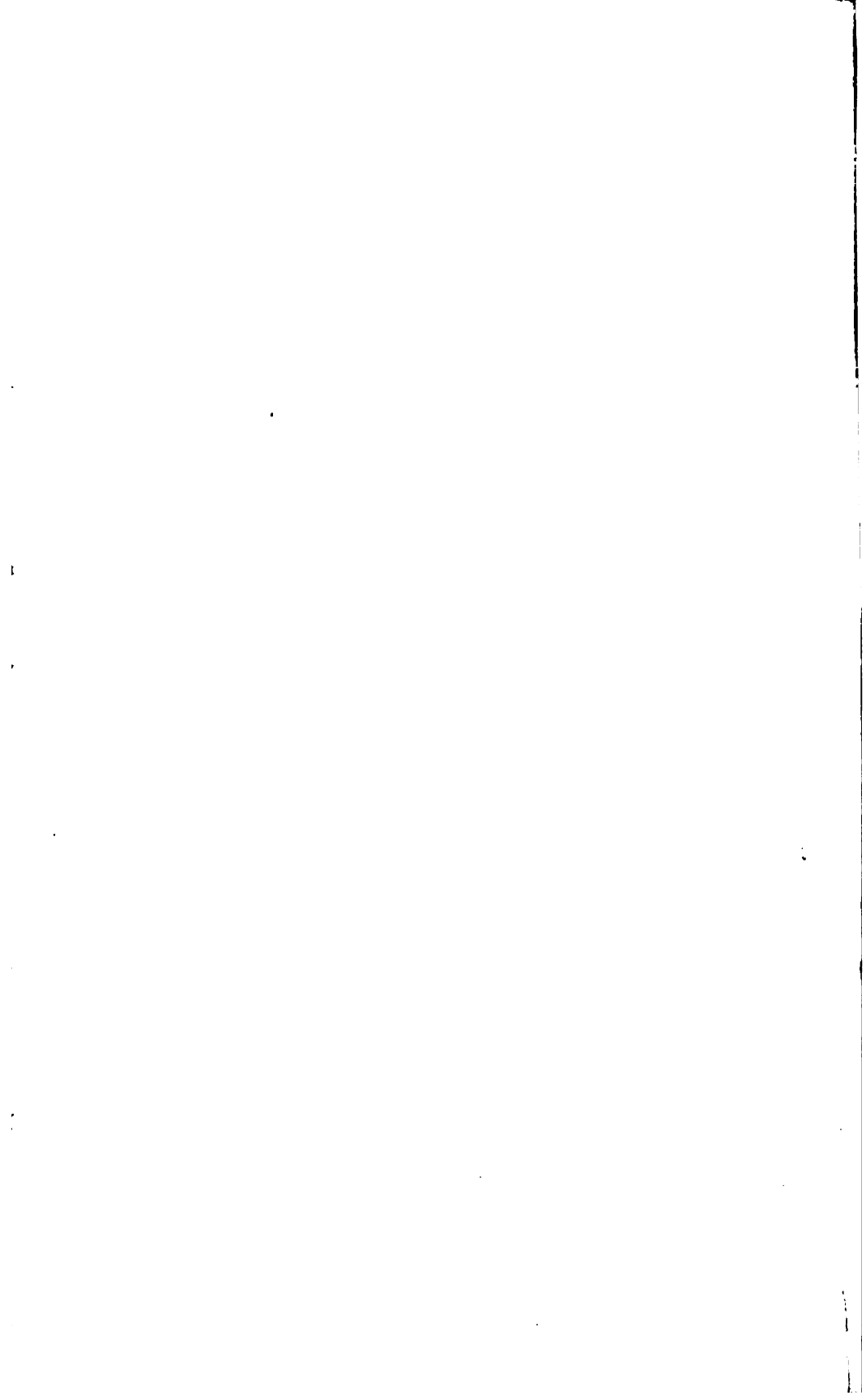
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Where enrolled.....

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SIGNATURE
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THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL

OF

THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN INDIANS

This official organ of the Society will be sent to all members upon receipt
of the subscription price \$1.00
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The Journal is edited by Indians who are university men and actively
engaged in professional life. The contributors are Indians and the friends
of the race who know the right side of the Indian's story.

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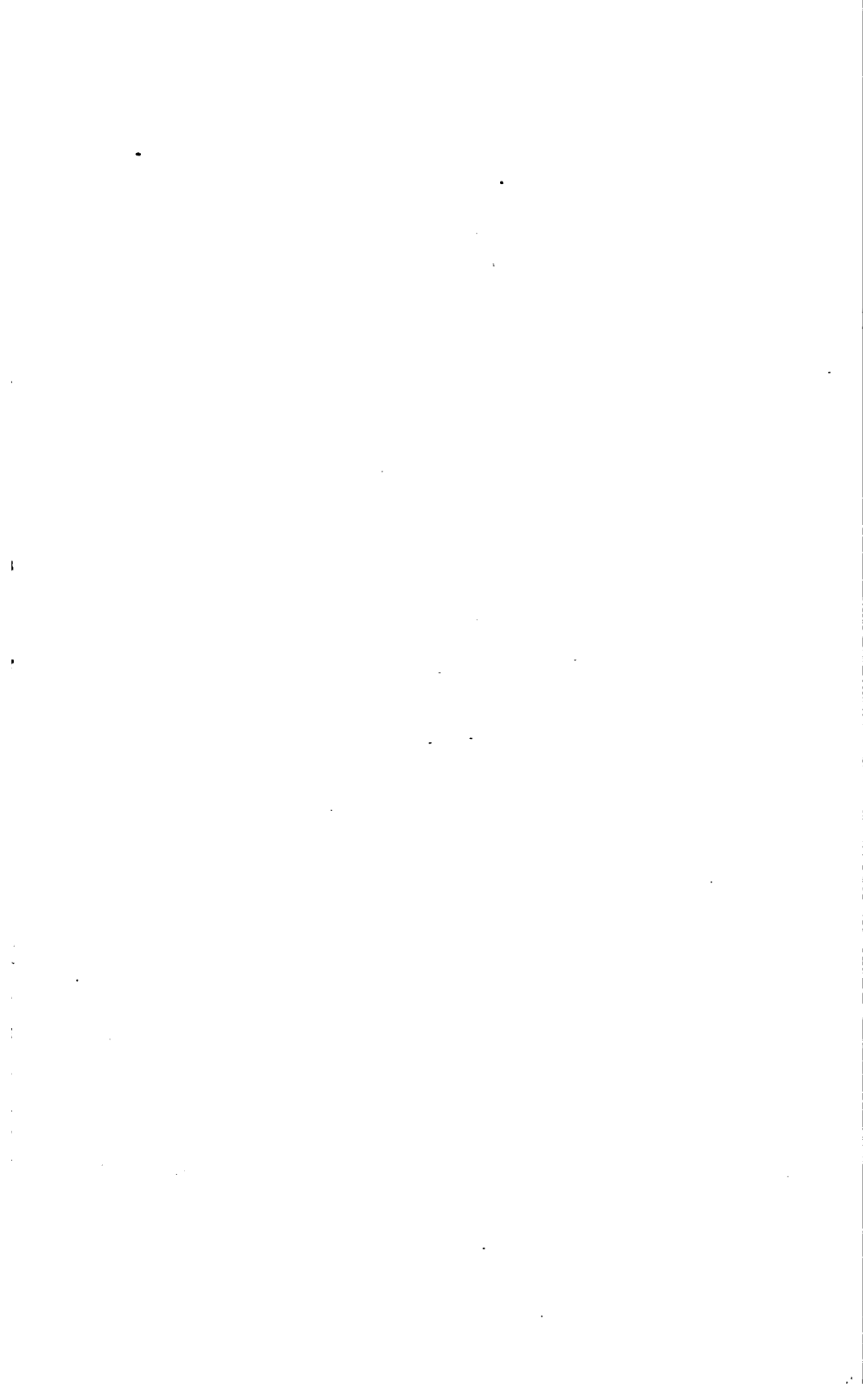
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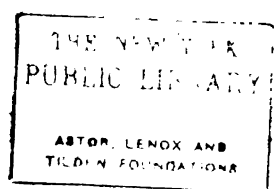


PLATE I



CHARLES R. DOXON (Onondaga)

President of the Six Nations Indian Temperance Society, Member of the Advisory Board S. A. I., and an automobile expert for a large concern in Syracuse, N. Y. Mr. Doxon is a Hampton graduate.



"The honor of the race and the good of the country shall be paramount."

VOL. II WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY-MARCH, 1914 NO. I

Current Comment

BY THE EDITOR-GENERAL

The Political Maelstrom

No man can visit Washington in the interest of Indian affairs without being perplexed. Certain things seem clear at first, but deeper investigation renders these things more and more obscure; certain things appear obscure at first, but gradually appear more and more apparent.

Washington is full of contending men. Not every one will tell you what he stands for or what he is promoting. Yet it does not take long to discover several interests, each of which is pulling, pushing, sliding toward its desires. In Indian affairs there are many invisible wires, hidden pitfalls, and subtle restraints. Business and politics unite in various combinations difficult to analyze. The novice who comes with the idea that all men surely want justice for the red man is soothed by purring politicians, or skillful mercenaries, who explain their position very plausibly. Everybody seems good, everybody smiles, and, quoting Chief Homas from Colville, "Everybody, his mouth full of it, sugar."

It is all very well to be optimistic, but do not go to sleep on Indian affairs. Matters are at more of a crisis now than the layman realizes. Selfish forces now more than any time before, perhaps, are

seeking to becloud issues, create distracting discussions, to eliminate watchfulness and concerted resistance. As we said in our last issue, true friends must cling together, not for mutual protection, but for the mutual aim,—honesty and efficiency in Indian administration and a genuine uplift for the Indian.

Keen political minds are at work to control Indian interests, to remove supervision, to entrench themselves and promote their own ends. This is no open fight; it is an entangled, hidden one. Many good men will be deceived, many will awaken when it is too late, many will be led far away from real issues through created dissensions. There is an impending crisis that will result in good or evil for the red man. We can not tell the story now. We only warn; take nothing for granted, take time to investigate, act wisely and be vigilant.



***The Board of
Indian Commis-
sioners***

Once more we raise for discussion the topic of the Board of Indian Commissioners. We created serious offense in our last issue by failing to interpret our parable, and it was seized upon as a personal issue, which it was not. What we affirmed of the Board as a body, of its mechanical or structural organization was not to be predicated of the men who composed the board. Yet it was claimed we said the members were fossils because the system of the organization was old. We also claim that water is wet, yet neither oxygen, nor hydrogen is wet. We have no quarrel with this group of most estimable men. As a Society we have a primary object, "To promote and co-operate with all efforts looking to the advancement of the Indian." We are willing to co-operate with all useful measures.

It seems to the editor, however, that this Board is not an effective organization. When it was created there were few channels through which the government and the public might know the truth on Indian matters, for friends of the Indians had not then organized. To-day we find the case far different; there are many sources of information. The Board, it is true, is composed of great and philanthropic citizens who have been appointed by the President, but its members do not render any greater service, or perhaps as much, as independent individuals and organizations. Professor Moorehead has rendered conspicuous services, but he would without doubt have been equally active in the service of any other earnest organization.

We are questioning the need of continuing the Commission. We ask whether it has been demonstrated that the Board is really a vital factor. We ask whether the elimination of this Board would in any way defeat justice for the Indian, make administration of Indian affairs less efficient, or make it easier for grafters and land grabbers. We are honestly inquiring, and not quarreling. There is no feeling of personal rancour toward any Commissioner; on the contrary, there is a sentiment of warm admiration and friendship. Anything but such would be inconsistent with a broad-minded, impersonal view.

If we are now, after these many years, to have a Board of Indian Commissioners, why should the government stop there? Why not have an independent citizen commission for public lands, public contracts, public buildings, and for all the various governmental departments? Certainly such questions can be publicly discussed without prejudice.

We hope that if the Board continues to exist that it will do good; we hope that we will do good; we hope that the Bureau will do good. If we cannot do good we ought to be abolished. But to do good we must have the power to be effective.

There is a great struggle ahead. As Professor McKenzie pointed out at Mohonk two years ago, "There is a crisis in Indian affairs." We have reached an ending and a beginning. Redoubled efforts are needed to uphold that which is good. Any hand that has been associated with graft or ambition is only a signal for warning. Our organization, and no organization, must complain if leading members create suspicion and then suspicion falls on the inner councils of the organization. Forces that do not centralize confidence beget suspicion. This is as true of governmental departments and of congressional committees as it is of societies or boards. This Society is no exception of any rule. We must be criticised constantly if we are to know our faults, otherwise we cannot do the greatest good.



***The Heart of
the Full Blood***

All through official reports and even in private writings we are impressed with the expression "the full blood." There are many qualifying phrases, such as "the ignorant full blood," "the restricted full blood," the "non-progressive full blood" or the "pagan full blood." The intent of all such expressions is to cast reproach upon the full-

blood, native Indian. Whether consciously so or otherwise the person employing such terms seeks to belittle the capacity of the Indian of unmixed lineage. This is manifestly unfair, and leads to much injustice. The native Indian was not originally the object of pity, nor did his blood relegate him to abjection. If full bloods can be found who are mentally capable, then this should be a demonstration that white blood is not necessary to produce genius or competence. Inherited conservatism or conservatism fostered by one's family does not necessarily mean inferiority or lack of capacity. Indeed, such an Indian may be a far better man than the half-educated mixed blood who is neither Indian in his sympathies nor "white" in his attainments.

It is not a question of the degree of blood but the question of individual competence that should count in determining civic or social status. Some quarter bloods are far more incompetent than some full bloods.

There is among another class of critics an aversion to mixed bloods. To some, mixed bloods are of decidedly criminal tendencies. The "half breed" of the motion picture film is always pictured as a moral degenerate. All notions that the mixed blood is necessarily an inferior are wrong. It is not the racial combination or the national blood of either parent that produces depraved offspring. It is the diseased and immoral white man or woman uniting with a diseased and immoral Indian man or woman that produces inferior progeny. Good Indian blood and good white blood have produced some of the finest Americans who ever lived. Since the days of John Randolph of Roanoke no scholar has disputed this.

It is the manhood, the character, the usefulness of men that counts. It is his environment that determines his conservatism or progress, and not his racial blood.

The full blood has much to be proud of. He has every element and capacity for achievement. He has a mind and a soul of his own. A Cheyenne chief, writing the editor, says, "The white man does not know of the things we had, but which are passed away. He does not know what it means to be an Indian. I think, all day I think my thoughts, but they are not the white man's thoughts." No mere slave, no mere imitator, is the man who loves creations of his own race and clings to them more than he does to his own life. There is an element of character there, a loyalty that forever bars that man from the title inferior. He has the soul of the poet and the heart of a patriot, even if he has no taste for commerce.

***The Dixon
Expedition of
Citizenship***

We have read much concerning the great knowledge gained by Rev. J. K. Dixon during his "expedition of citizenship" to the Indian. We believe that his speeches would be highly illuminating to the investigator and reveal the astounding egotism of the man. The best of testimony shows that the main events of the journey were subordinated to the taking of pictures. Rev. Dixon would stop his speeches or wave his arms at the command of the film-box operator. The speeches were made, we should judge, to the whites and not to the Indians. As a rule neither progressive nor representative Indians had anything to do with the expedition ceremonies. It must have been a trying time for the eloquent ex-clergyman, for the Indians were suspicious and balked again and again.

As for what "the expedition" learned, it is manifest that a few hours on each reservation will not reveal all the affairs and all the conditions of those reservations. And yet Rev. Dixon's letter to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the people of the United States states:

"For the first time the nation may have the full, unvarnished truth, at first hand, from a neutral authority—the truth about lands,—the truth about starvation,—the truth about education,—the truth about health,—the truth about intemperance,—the truth about unjust allotments,—the truth about irrigation and water rights,—the truth about agriculture,—land that may be tilled and land that is desert,—the truth about the industrial problem, supervising farmers who do not supervise,—the truth about the extent of the Indian police control,—the truth about a waste of funds, the open market versus bids,—the truth about warehouse folly,—the truth about the vexed question of half-breeds,—the truth about blanket orders for school supplies, a failure to recognize climatic conditions,—the truth about the abolition of Indian ceremonies and regalia,—the truth about the supreme struggle for existence,—and the truth about the actual living conditions of the Indian."

Where, oh, where, has every one been, that through the merits of a six months' trip this information has *for the first time* been made available! Of what use is an Indian Bureau, an Ethnological Bureau, an Indian organization, where they have been so blind?

Mr. Rodman Wanamaker's aim to do something historic, something magnificent for the native American, is a worthy patriotic idea, and yet it has been drawn into so much disrepute by methods

that smack of fakery that persons who know the expedition's real story are aroused to resentment.

To form a climax a bill that radiates the diction of Rev. Dr. Dixon has been introduced by Senator Penrose, seeking to create a sort of commission based on the "expedition."

We hope we are all wrong in our estimate of Rev. Dr. Dixon. We hope we are wrong in our estimate of the astonishing assumptions of "the expedition." To this end we invite an investigation of what the government itself has to say about this expedition. The government has a report that should neither be hidden nor kept out of print. Major McLaughlin, representing the Interior Department in the Indian Bureau, followed the fortunes, or misfortunes, of "the expedition." We wish to know what he reports. If the Penrose bill, which seems largely a good-natured joke, ever comes up for discussion, surely Inspector McLaughlin's report will be needed as evidence by the Senate and the House. And yet we read something like this:

"I took the flag in my hands, I ordered the Indians to bow their heads, I dedicated the Indians to the flag; I dedicated the flag to the Indians."

The "I" was Mr. Dixon, an eloquent orator, a man with much sentiment, and yet a man unfortunately placed in a position requiring infinite tact. If the expedition has resulted in confusion to the Indian, in embarrassment to Mr. Wanamaker, in astonishment to the intelligent man of Indian affairs, it has to a greater degree injured the unfortunate leader of the expedition, and we are sorry.

If our conclusions are wrong the records and stenographic reports of Inspector McLaughlin will undoubtedly set us straight.

But, perhaps we are right. Perhaps our estimates are very mild indeed.



**Fourth Conference
at Madison, Wis.,
October 6-10**

Through the invitation of President Van Hise, of the University of Wisconsin, the Society of American Indians will hold its Fourth Conference in Madison, Wisconsin, and under the auspices of the university, October 6-10, 1914. This great educational institution is one of the most notable in the entire United States. It has evolved a wonderful system of university extension, and carries its benefits to every citizen of the State. This is especially true in the fields of agriculture, education and social service. The specialists on the applied sciences

at the university are the recognized State experts. The university forms the brain center of the commonwealth. The Wisconsin idea is now famous throughout America, and its unique plan of service is known world-wide. All the universities in States bordering on or near Wisconsin are inspired to follow the example of Wisconsin.

The Society of American Indians can have no better academic setting for its fourth annual conference of Indians and their friends, and we not only feel grateful for the invitation of the university, but honored by it. And yet, there must be something in the Society and in its aims and policy that inspires great organizations and institutions to give us their friendship. We might have followed a course that would have forever barred us from the doors of scholarly halls. Selfish ambition might have destroyed our usefulness, but fortunately, we have chosen an unselfish course. We live to give, and not to get; we labor for the race and the nation, and not for ourselves.

The Conference will have as its local organizers Professor Charles E. Brown, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and Chief of the Museum of the Archeological Society, and Vice-President W. J. Kershaw of our Society.



*An Awakening
in Methods of
Indian Education* Much attention is now being devoted to the discussion of Indian Education. Advocates of the various methods are discussing their plans in addresses before conferences or in articles in educational magazines.

Mr. Henry Roe-Cloud had convincingly called attention to the fact that the Indian schools of the country do not fit their graduates to enter the high schools in their localities, and that time is lost in preparing for high school entrance. He believes that all Indian schools supported by the Federal Government should have a standard curriculum so that a pupil might enter the schools of the country without conditional requirements. Mr. Roe-Cloud advocates the setting aside of an institution in which, for a period of years, Indian students may be trained through the high school grades. Mr. Roe-Cloud believes that the proportional number of college graduates of Indian blood should be as great, or at least half as great, as that of the white race,—that is to say, one in every thousand of population. We do not believe that the idea is to establish a free institution where the pupil is to feel no effort for self-support.

There are some who object to this plan on theoretical grounds by saying that the public schools and colleges of the land are open to Indians as freely as to whites. This is answered by the argument that while this is true, as a matter of fact Indian students do not enter such institutions except in very limited numbers, far too limited to provide the inspiration that the red race needs. This is due to the home environment of the Indian, his reservation and tribal hindrances. To offset these handicaps and to provide the leadership and incentive to progress that every race needs, we understand, is the idea of the advanced school.

There are some strong objections to an advanced Indian school, and a number of advocates set forth the policy of sending as many Indian children to public schools as may be found in circumstances to enter. Instead of providing \$175 for the education of the pupil in a Federal Indian school, the idea would be to furnish such an amount as might be necessary to send the pupil to a public school in the vicinity of the child's home. In some cases this would work admirably, but in other cases it would be a failure. As a plan this is the ideal policy, but ideal conditions among Indians are needed to meet it.

It stands to reason that a student in an Indian school ought to be so graded that he might step from any grade of that school into the same grade in a public school, but this is not the usual case. If it should be found to be true in some instances you would find generally that the boy or the girl would refuse to leave the government school and enter the public school, even if paid to do it. The reason is based upon the inbred pride of the human race which makes it unbearable for a young man or woman nearing the twenties to sit in primary classes with children seven or eight years younger. This is because the Indian school pupil is four to ten years behind the pupil in a public grammar-grade school. This is due to the Indian school system, and to reservation environment, more than to individual lack of capacity.

Several most valuable discussions on the Indian school have appeared in recent numbers of the *Red Man* of Carlisle. In the January issue Superintendent Friedman published his views, and in the March number Supervisor Peairs published his address, given before the Philadelphia local conference of the Society.

The question of education is a vital one, and we are glad that there is a lively discussion. The design of our Plank 3, third annual conference platform, is to stimulate thought that will lead to action consistent with progress, and therefore with human needs.

*Some of Our
Peculiar
Principles*

The Society of American Indians has some peculiar principles. Before it reared itself as a structure its potential members had dug a deep foundation. Once organized, it continued to dig until its critics believed it would expire. Its deep foundation and its avowed lofty principles could not be understood. Failure was predicted. "It will soon blow over," came the answer to our appeal.

We have not yet finished laying our walls, but we have more and greater friends than two years ago, or even one year ago. The friend is gladdened, the foe dismayed, and the critic hastens to give our appeals a more serious regard.

Every great structure that is to endure must dig its foundation deep and lay its walls upon the rock. It is a most instructive thing to watch the growth of a twenty-story office building. For months a swarm of men, hundreds of them, do nothing but dig into the sand, the clay, and rock. Hundreds cart away the excavated material. Deeper and deeper they go until the earth is penetrated for fifty or sixty feet. Then comes the laying of walls of iron, steel and cement. The scoffer passes by and remarks, "Thought they were going to build a sky-scraper, but it looks as if they were tunneling to China." When the building arises, its steel girders are quickly placed in accord with a plan drawn long before a spadeful of earth was dug, or a beam swung into position. Brick and terra-cotta are reared over the framework as if by magic and cemented firmly in a common mass. The actual rearing of the building often takes less time than the hewing of its foundation. But the building stands as a monument to man's intelligence. It is a safe structure. There is a Hebrew parable about buildings built upon sand that cannot stand when the winds blow and the rains beat down.

Another peculiar principle held by the Society is the maintaining of a "free platform." We are afraid of no earnest man with an unselfish message. He will ever find with us an opportunity to say what he believes is right and just and merciful, as a policy in the making of men. No man, therefore, need shrink from speaking at our conferences because he believes himself out of harmony with other speakers.

A third strange principle is that none of our officers holds his position for the mere honor of that position. Each man is in office for the good he can do and for the work he can do. Not one has any material advantage to gain, no money to make and no material end in sight for himself. Our officers constantly admonish one another, urge one another, suggest how better work may be done,

criticise each other,—all in a friendly manner, frankly and in sincerity,—and without a single personal feeling, all work in harmony “for the honor of the race and the good of the country,” and “to promote and co-operate with all measures looking to the advancement of the Indian in enlightenment.” More than that, we believe that any officer would step out of his office with good grace and a cheerful heart, if he found himself a detriment to these high principles. Not every man can inspire confidence or unite the scattering forces of a great cause, and it is not necessarily against a man’s character that he does not have this ability. Some of our hardest workers have no office, yet they spend time and money and brain power. Men like Vincent Natalish, Dr. Carlos Montezuma, both Apaches, and Hon. Gabe Parker, Dennison Wheelock, and many others have no official standing save as members, but each has spent his tens and his hundreds that we might prosper. Likewise, your officers give to their utmost of their means. Perhaps three, alone, last year contributed a thousand dollars. And finally the many individual members from Maine to Oregon give what they are able. A prominent educator said a few days ago that the Society of American Indians, with one exception, was the only Society whose members came to a national conference *at their own expense*. Can you see how deep the interest is?

Will a Society building upon such a foundation withstand the storms? Is it not then true that from now on the Indian problem will be solved from the inside as well as the outside, and that by mutual effort, from without and within, the red man will take his place increasingly as a useful, producing factor in the life of the country?



***How Shall We
Know the
Statesman?***

There is a great gulf fixed between true statesmanship and mere politics. Yet the politician thrives better these days than does the statesman. The reason is apparent. The world is speed mad. Rapid traffic, speed in action, quick results, hasty conclusions, rapid-fire promises, all lead in the end to disaster. Yet men willingly hold out their ears to the next man who cries, “I am the Messiah; I will save you!” And the disappointed common people cry out, “Why should public servants forget the purpose for which they are honored and entrusted the public welfare?” We answer, simply because they remember better *self-interest*, and so in promoting self-interest, *they forget public interest*, and while they thrive, the public suffers. The

alderman, the mayor, the governor or the congressman who does this, is not a loyal citizen, or an honest public servant. He is a political buccaneer. He is what Ross calls the "criminaloid." The official who steadily keeps before him the highest interest of the men he serves is the statesman. No political makeshift will suit him, and neither the losing of friends nor the making of foes can alter his high purpose, for the great end is greater than the means, and more to be guarded than self or immediate interests. The statesman looking toward that end builds for all time. The politician seeking "to make a show" builds for the moment only. The politician will fight to save himself and his interests; the statesman will not fight for self or self-interests, for he has merged himself and his interest into the common interest, and for that alone he fights. He remembers that he who would find his life must lose it in the common cause, but that he who would seek out of that common cause to find himself shall lose himself. These old axioms are as true and as workable as are the rules of mathematics. Who is there, for example, that will dispute the statement of Chief Henry Roman Nose, who said at the Denver Conference, that if all men would follow the "golden rule" there would be no Indian problem?

The followers of that rule, whether Christians, Hebrews, Mohammedans or sun-worshippers, are statesmen who build not for now, but for eternity.

It seems that there has been too much politics and too little statesmanship in our "Indian policy." Many men have builded for a showing, to get results, to make fine reports, to justify their jobs, to protect *special* or selfish interests, and, all too often, have forgotten that the *ultimate* welfare of the Indian, as a useful citizen, was the great task. Yet an immediate result was sought,—but just as a poisonous stimulant arouses without strengthening a patient, so the Indian was agitated and poisoned without being brought to healthy activity. The few who served well and with lofty purpose too often were condemned, hampered or ousted, if not materially ruined. They saw the outcome to themselves, but saw more keenly the need of apostles of truth and righteousness.

Until the feudal spirit of legislators and leaders loses itself in the spirit of co-operation for the common good, we shall ever find men who use position and power as a perch from which to prey upon their fellow men.

Yet to the bewildered voyager the song of the harpie is sweeter than the hoarse cry of the fog-horn, and though one warns, yet the siren strains of the harpie lure men to the rocks. The Indian has

learned to distrust almost every voice that calls or warns, yet because the politician, the grafter, the schemer, promise more, and hold out glittering hope, the untrained Indian, knowing not how to discriminate, listens to his voice most often, and finds himself wrecked upon the rocks.



***The Idea of
Leadership***

Among primitive races leaders arise; among barbarous people leaders assume power or are chosen by the people; among civilized peoples leaders of all sorts arise or are chosen. The presence of danger and the realization of a common interest demands the functions of a leader. A band of men without leaders is a mob, but with competent leaders this same mob may become an army. It is a strange but true fact that in order for any race to progress there must be great obstacles to overcome. There must be danger, worry, enemies and warfare of one sort or another. *The human brain is only kept awake by conflict. In its desperate effort to overcome dangers and destroy enemies the mind grows and points the way to victory. The brain of a race lies in its leaders. The race must follow its leaders.* If it refuses, it must follow the fate of a sick man whose brain is keen, who knows where to find the cure for his trouble, but whose legs refuse to carry him to it. The mass of people are like unto limbs and body; the leaders are the brains of the people. Alas, the Indian people are denied leaders who shall form the brain of their race! There is, it is true, danger and enemies to overcome, but a paternal system forms an artificial brain. The Indian is helped to spend his money and he is helped to think. This is the death of the race, the curse of progress, the violation of a primary right of man to struggle for existence. There can be no leaders for such a people. If some chance to arise they are not accepted by the Indian or they are discredited by the "powers that think for us." The Indian must see through this violation of human right; he must find in his very plight a danger demanding leadership. He must look beyond himself and see his brother Indians of other tribes, and in their danger he must see his common interest. There must be leaders; leaders must be followed. And leaders must be unselfish; they must be ready to give all and ask nothing, nor even expect gratitude. Let the Indian's brain awaken and be kept active by the conflict. Then there will be the victory.

The Editor's Viewpoint

A Survey of the Problem—Its Elements and Its End

A Survey of Contributing Elements

In the confusion of details it is sometimes difficult to understand what the ruling principles are. We have a perplexing problem on our hands called the "Indian question." It is hedged about by so many details, great and small, that even the greatest of minds are puzzled.

Various remedies are brought forth and urged with vigor. On one hand we hear that "it is merely a question of business administration;" eminent legalists say it is only a matter of adjusting the law and meteing out justice; others arise to tell us that contact and assimilation will rapidly cure all ills, all injustice, and will furnish the solution of the question; others urge religion, others industry, and still others education. Each champion puts particular stress upon his particular doctrine of racial salvation.

A simple survey of the problem reduces it to a few pointed facts and reveals the contributive elements which we wish, before proceeding further, to review.

First, we have a great continent, comprising the Western Hemisphere. It was inhabited by a race not known to Europeans or Asiatics (except perhaps in a vague traditional way to certain individuals). These inhabitants claimed to own, by right of possession and habitation, all the land so occupied and possessed by them. These native peoples were not all alike in all respects. There were hundreds of languages, and thousands of dialects. Many tribes knew nothing of each other. Many tribes regarded other tribes as enemies, and sought by every means to exterminate these foes and to conquer their territories. Only a few tribes organized into confederacies, and there were only a few centralized governments. Dozens of chiefs, all acknowledging blood kinship and speaking the same stock language, might rule, loosely, dozens of tribes, each claiming individual rights, but there was no binding allegiance to any central authority. These people therefore had no political cohesion. There was no law providing for a general government of large numbers of people, except in a few isolated instances. Each group of people, or tribe, however, knew its boundaries. There is a certain sense in which each had its province or country. Certain confederacies were formed, as the Iroquois, and to the south pow-

erful monarchies, as those of the Incas and the Aztecs, arose. Each tribe believed that it had the right, when impelled by desire or necessity, to acquire the territory of its enemies. Thus, as in early Europe, boundaries were frequently shifted. There was, therefore, a belief in occupation by right of conquest. It is to be seriously doubted, however, that the North American Indians were at constant warfare one tribe with the other. So-called "wars" were probably more in the nature of feuds, and their battles small. There were, very likely, few great wars. The confusion caused by the white invasion shortly after the opening of the sixteenth century pushed tribe upon tribe and precipitated a general upheaval of war among the tribes.

Our second consideration is that the territory held by each tribe, "nation" or stock was in excess of its requirements. A great tract was only desired "to put distance between us and our enemies," to provide an area in which to hunt game animals and in which to find sites for a changing abode. As to the right of occupancy many tribes believed that "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof," and that it might not be sold or given away, any more than the air or the heavens. Man only acquired the right to occupy. Most tribes believed that their ancestral domain was nominally theirs by prior right of occupation, though another might occupy it later. At the same time, most of them believed in the power of arms, and ruled by that right.

Third. Soon after the voyages of Christopher Columbus, the American continent began to attract exploring parties from Europe. The original idea was to exploit the new continent and carry back the riches to Europe. Then the idea of settlement came. It was a good country in which to live. Men who wished to flee from tyranny, or from political and religious persecution, hastened to America that they might escape that which they could not overcome. But a greater though different struggle was presented. They must overcome a wilderness, conquer its peoples, bring about civic safety and develop the resources they found.

The aboriginal inhabitants, the so-called Indians, thus were forcibly introduced to the peoples from Europe. The interests of the two races so met, the red and the white, almost at once became divergent. Although the Indians of the northeast coast and as far south as the Carolinas at first welcomed, cradled and fed the pale strangers, giving them shelter and territory, the Indians soon realized that they had welcomed an unmeasured foe. They discovered that the white skins had come determined to possess

by any ingenious method the land that the red skins occupied. The methods by which the invading white race possessed, held or acquired that which they wanted were new and terrible. To the red men these methods were the extreme creations of intellect, sophistry and material power. The methods were money, goods, treaties, guns, knowledge.

Now, the white men merely desired to possess the land because they saw within it vast resources that might be developed, to their enrichment and happiness. They could gradually clear away the forests, build increasingly comfortable homes, carry on commerce with Europe, dig mines and quarries, trade in merchandise and furs and govern the new land as their own. To each nation there came dreams of a new country for an old nationality; there arose New Spain, New France, New England, Nova Scotia, and New Netherlands, all colonies, but containing within themselves the germs of new nations. To establish such colonies and carry out such ideals meant that somehow the land itself must be torn from the grasp of the native Indians.

Fourth, the European had learned that a small tract of land properly developed might support a large population. So here in America the European found his great room for expanding. Here was room for an overflowing population. The native American Indians alone stood in the way; he did not seem to need so much land. They were called demons, a cursed race, savages and "barriers to civilization," and as such were exterminated by thousands wherever possible. European diseases and vices swept away thousands more, for the physical natures of these natives had not developed a hereditary resistance to disease and alcohol. Native diseases had not been numerous, and there were few artificial vices.

For two hundred and fifty years the white race fought back the red race, killing where possible, poisoning by disease and debauching by vices. The result was largely physical and psychological demoralization. A man smarting under the sense of outraged justice, sick in body, crushed in spirit and poisoned by drugs, may be expected to look with a certain degree of hostility upon the claims of the successful, powerful invading race.

The white race, in its haste and thoughtlessness, committed many grave crimes against the God of nations. It forgot the mission of power and abused that power so that a human race, the red men, became a broken, almost spiritless mass of dependents. Strong efforts were made by certain missionaries, societies and individuals to help the Indians to a knowledge of civilization and to protect the

Indians from injustice, but these beneficent forces never had the moral support of the white race, as a body.

To-day the great American nation does not war upon the natives who remain. A most highly organized bureau looks after them as wards and dependents, as "perpetual inhabitants with diminutive rights." Great missionary bodies, societies and rights associations represent the moral force and the conscience of the nation.

These isolated groups of native peoples who never have been made to understand the consistency of civilization, and who are now engaged in a mighty struggle for physical life itself, therefore constitute the problem. To the white race this problem is "What shall we do with them to give them justice?" To the red race the question is, "What shall we do with ourselves to regain individual independence, competence and usefulness among men?"

*The Spirit of the
Two Races*

With the red race there is much that must be forgotten, lest motives arise from historical instead of present day considerations. Memory of past injustice or of a past life must not stop present progress. To the red race enough knowledge has now come, at least, to teach the necessity of an adjustment to modern conditions.

The white race will have much to remember. With the resource and power that has come to the white race has come responsibility. There must be an increasingly developed sense of the need of restitution. The supplanted red race cannot have its ancient ways or ancestral domain restored; that would not be restitution. But it must have provided for it now that of which it was robbed in the centuries gone by,—the power of self-support, self-protection and the enjoyment of happiness. The problems of tribal government, of lands and trust funds, are not the real problems. The ultimate problem is how to restore the red race to the position of a useful, happy people, once more thrilled by the impulse that ambition and industry give to mankind.

The general feeling regarding the Indians and their remaining possessions is one of passive sympathy, yet characterized by an active desire to profit as much as possible wherever possible. There are thousands of notable individual exceptions, and even organizations arise to express positive sympathy and to hold over the Indian a protecting arm. The government has a special bureau expressly for the administration of Indian affairs, so that the intent of conscientious men and of the State itself is honest; but to a great body of citizens, seeing a chance for profit, every form of "business sagacity" is used to obtain the lands and monies so easily to be had.

***Treaties with
Indian Tribes***

When the European colonists of North America found it expedient in their dealings with the native Americans, they drew up treaties, obtaining through them certain claims and concessions. The Indians probably never drew up a treaty. The theory or assumption of the colonists seems to have been that the various groups of Indians were stable nations, and that a treaty with them was therefore equitable. Let us consider first what a nation is. A nation is a group of men having common interests, possessing a fixed territory and governed by a recognized ruling power. There is a distinction between a "people" and a "nation." A "people" is a mass of men who through gradual development through a considerable period of time, create for themselves a definite type of life (or culture) and form a society (or social organization) that differentiates them from all other "peoples," their material culture and social organization descending as a fixed inheritance. A nation is a political body brought into being by the impelling force of common interests of government. Parts of several peoples may form a nation. It is not always true or necessary that a nation have one blood or one language, though this is an advantage. A nation has its own personality, its own spirit and its own ambitions, for it is a collective personality. *A nation is presumably able to govern itself, to enforce its own rights among other nations and to see that its contracts with external nations are observed.*

It is very likely that when the Federal Government first entered into treaties with Indian tribes or nations, that it believed the tribe more or less able to make armed resistance to any violation of a treaty. An Indian treaty pledged the integrity and honor of the United States to give or insure certain fixed rights. It was usually made because the white race wanted something, but occasionally bloodshed and warfare indicated that the Indians wanted a certain right kept inviolate. So it was expedient to frame a treaty, and certain things that never should be incorporated in a "treaty" were granted, such as cloth, trinkets, salt, etc., and chimerical promises to last "as long as the grass grows and the waters run," i. e., "forever."

The enormous development and growth of the new American nation soon made treaties with Indian tribes ridiculous farces. No Indian tribe could hope to enforce such provisions as were beneficial to it. Any attempt to assert independent nationality or to make an armed resistance was met with an overwhelming opposition. The white race learned that it could absolutely crush or extermi-

nate an Indian tribe, if given time. Indian tribes, however, stung by the bitterness of fate, fought with a fury and effectiveness that has no parallel in history. They would not lie down and die simply because die they must, eventually.

The folly of the treaty system was seen during the administration of President Grant, when it was abandoned for a "contract system." Indian tribes, in spite of themselves, gradually lost the force of their tribal autochthony. In the presence of civilization their social organization began to crumble. They were no longer nations, but dependent tribes, living upon the mercy of a dominant power, the Federal Government. They were not represented in that government, therefore, to the citizens of the country, Indian rights were not respected, except where it was expedient. Thus was the political status of the red men confused; thus were rights obtained from them by mock ceremony and subterfuge, and thus eventually were all their natural and granted rights infringed upon by the stronger nation which had contracted with them. The people refused to respect the treaties made by their government. Citizens constantly infringed on treaty rights, violated every moral obligation, despite the admonitions of good men and the warnings of the government. The Indians were confused by such action. Their tribal governments were accused of weakness and ineffectiveness, yet here was a civilized government, highly organized, yet unable to make its citizens obey.

Nations have certain primary rights, interference with which is tyranny. A nation has the right to its own language. Civilized nations recognize this, *e. g.*, see the Austrian fundamental law of December 21, 1867, Article 19: "All tribes in the nation have equal rights, and each has an inviolate right to maintain its nationality and language." This does not say that it might not be better to learn the language of the governing forces. Certain nations have several languages, spoken by different states or peoples, as Switzerland, which has German, French and Italian cantons.

Nations have a right to their own customs, providing these folkways do not conflict with morality or the rights of the government. Nations have a right to their own laws, if these laws are in harmony with the principles held by the ruling governmental forces, and do not work harm. A nation has a right to its own arts, its morals and its intellectual creations. Bluntschili, the German economist, writes: "Men can have no juster cause for resistance to tyranny than defense of nationality." Quoting Niebuhr, he continues:

"Common nationality has higher claims than the political relations which unite or separate the different nations of a race. Grammar, language, manners, tradition and literature constitute a fraternal bond which parts them from foreign tribes and makes union with the foreigner against their own tribe a crime."

Indian tribes, in resisting the forces of a civilization that they could not understand, only defended a natural right regarded as primary in human society.

The aim of certain independent social forces **Can "Civilization" and of the government is to bring the native Be Hastened?**

American Indian into a proper understanding of civilized life in order that both the white and the red races may benefit. No nation in all history ever set itself to such a task with greater deliberation or with so great an organized force. These great organized forces, pushing forward with ceaseless zeal, this systematic attempt to digest and assimilate a race of men, leads to a feeling that progress is not commensurate with effort. In undue haste to see achieved results rapidly accomplished the government is accused of inefficiency and lack of understanding, and the Indian charged with ultra-conservatism and incapacity. His tribal consciousness and slow adjustment to what the white race considers important elements are regarded as unfortunate and indicative of inferiority. "The ignorant full blood" is a common, yet insulting, expression where it links ignorance with the full blood as a necessary quality.

For purposes of equity we wish to examine into the justness of these charges, basing our comparison on the time taken by dominant European races to assimilate and standardize their conquered peoples, their aborigines or diverse native elements. The Greeks, the Romans, the Germans, the English have all had race problems, but none of them succeeded in pursuing the methods now used by American "civilizing forces."

In America we have a mixture of races or peoples organized into a State or nation. The nation rests upon a base of European civilization, but has largely expanded its European elements. English-American civilization is the dominant power and tends to rapidly assimilate all other elements, merging all racial elements into one. Ancient examples are the Latinizing of the Roman Empire of the West and the Hellenizing of the East. The Belgian State of to-day rests upon the Walloons, and its capital city is a French center, and so Flemish culture is Gallicized by force of social pressure, but it yet retains a distinctive nature. Russia seeks to

force the Poles to become Muscovian, and America seeks to transform her aborigines into Anglo-Americans. The success of all such efforts at transforming a people rests upon the superiority in education, resources and activities of the dominant race. A nation of high spirit can retard the spread of foreign civilization, as, for example, Persia and early Germany prevented the spread of the Latin and Greek cultures beyond their natural limits. After a thousand years Great Britain has not entirely conquered her racial differences. England, though not much larger than the State of Pennsylvania, has not yet drawn all the dialects of the shires into one. Wales, though for centuries in contact with England, has a nationality that is not yet suppressed. To the north, the Scotch differ from the English, holding on to their national customs and keeping alive their national spirit. Scotland is not yet entirely Anglicized. To the west is the Emerald Isle. The Irish still are Irish, and the spirit of Irish nationality is yet at active flame. All the British aborigines hold on to the Gaelic tongue and revere their national traditions. Even the tribal spirit of Germany still lives. Tribal consciousness is even now an important political factor at times. The internal differences of the German tribes has exercised a mighty influence in the formation of the German Empire. The ancient German constitution was simply a peace-pact between the Teutonic tribes. Even to-day tribal spirit is invoked in Germany for political purposes, and prevents a closer knitting of the empire.

England to-day is a blood combination of Normans, Vikings, Angles, Saxons, Picts, Scotts, Kelts and Britons. Tribal allegiance even yet runs high, but the English people, combining their common needs, have united into a nation that has long been a world power. There is a vital common interest. An Englishman, a Scotchman, an Irishman and a Welshman will fight together for the Union Jack, but they will not dance a jig together on a saint's day. Nations, therefore, recognize the fundamental right of men to racial pride. It begets incentive, it makes men do great things for great causes. It is the backbone, the stimulant, the life of ambition. It cannot be crushed without ruining or killing off every member of a race.

Neither the ancient world nor the modern world has ever assimilated completely a people worth while. True justice and true national success can come only by bringing to each tribe or race the great fact that there is a common interest and a common ideal for which all must work.

This can be done for the Indian. His spirit need not be crushed in order to civilize him. He need not be condemned for an inordinate pride in his race, nor for loving its traditions. Every encouragement to adjust himself must be given; a man's fighting chance is needed, not a child's coddling. His short schooling in comparison with others shows no elements wanting in his capacity. Let neither the government nor societies be discouraged with the rate of assimilation.

A Real Civilization Needed True civilization consists not so much in a single language, a single system and similar customs as it does in the altruism of the people, their thrift and their development of the sciences. Ignorance of nature's laws means a barbarous culture, despite the advancement of the fine arts and the development of architecture. Side by side with science must grow a practiced system of ethics based on a just and merciful consideration of the rights of other persons and other peoples. We only have a right to insist that men be useful and that their useful activities bring to them true happiness. Civilization is not such where it will tolerate the existence of ignorant, inactive or miserable men. Human creatures must be positive forces if they are to radiate healthful joy and be useful. When the Indians (or any race) are made happy because they are useful, there will be no problem; there can be none. Human happiness is the most precious thing given unto living creatures. Races, nations, organizations, individuals, who do not seek to produce or promote happiness in others are just as far away from civilization as they contribute to the misery of others. Such destroyers of the ultimate ideal are the real barriers to human progress and to the realization of the divine ideal for human kind. The constructive forces are those that lead men to a knowledge of nature's laws, to their use and which, regarding all men as kindred, brothers, friends, come into a sympathetic relation with them, so that the happiness made possible by knowledge is carried out through altruistic ethics.

What the Red Man Must Learn So far we have discussed in a brief general way the factors of development that should be considered by the white race in its endeavor to absorb and "civilize" the Indian. The great power and resource of the white race in America have given it, and every man of it, an enormous responsibility, for with power and knowledge comes duty. The white American owes the red American an opportunity. This must be realized, and is realized increasingly through governmental and social agencies.

But while this is true, we have a word with our brother red man. The Indian is not to be a passive factor in all endeavor to help him to a correct adjustment. Quite to the contrary, he must become once more an aggressive force.

A short time ago Doctor Williams, the British anthropologist, in lecturing on prehistoric man, said that a study of ancient remains,—skulls and bones of animals and of men,—pointed out an important lesson for modern man. He said that the race of men, or the species of beast, that carried an overdeveloped feature into a new environment suffered extinction. He pointed out that the only races of men and species of animals that live now and multiply and thrive, are those that are willing to give up traits or habits that unfit them for their surroundings. To live, man, like animals, must be in harmony with his environment. Any inability to adjust oneself as changes come, means suffering, disease, incompetence, death, extinction.

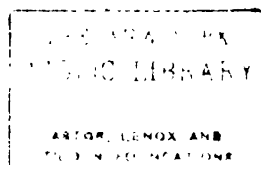
Times have changed, the past has gone, the present is here, and points out the changes and advancement of the future. The Indian must, by education and familiarity with "civilized life," adjust himself to the world in which he must live. If he fails or cannot adjust himself, he must become diseased, incompetent and he must die. Visit any Indian reservation and study the Indians there. Who are most healthy, most able, are most industrious, who are powers for good? Who are they who are best able to defend their people and who meet the white man on the same level? Are they the Indians who mourn over the past, who refuse to learn and who curse progress? No! Those who live best and who are happiest are those who know that a new day has come and that they must live in that day like the competent men of the surrounding race do. True, these men and women who have found the advantage of readjustment may not always be as stable in all ways as the older people, but this is only because many are as yet raw products. A refinement through the generations will only bring the polishing to some, that others acquire easily through a correct understanding of facts, thrift, culture and morals.

The Indian no longer hunts animals with a bow and arrow; he uses a repeating rifle. He knows its advantage. The Indian no longer lives in a bow-and-arrow-world, but a world of whirling progress; he must fight now with new weapons. A trained hand and a keen eye must be linked to an educated brain that knows the secrets of the twentieth century. The Indian must see this necessity if he is to live.

PLATE II



A group of members at Wildcat Point, near Denver, during the Third Conference excursion, October 15, 1913.



*The Cooperation of the Two Races*¹

By PROF. F. A. MCKENZIE

FOUR centuries and twenty-one years ago last Sunday, the East and the West, the White Man and the Red Man, met on the little island of Salvador. What centuries they have been! Centuries of misunderstandings, which have borne all the evil fruit of the misunderstandings, of ignorance, and of imaginary differences. Close dealing, trickery, treachery, war and murder, have on each side seemed to justify like action on the other. Each side has memorized and nursed the evils, the colossal sufferings it has undergone. Each race has despised and hated the other. A deep-seated prejudice has dominated the mind of each against the other, and has prevented the justice which should prevail between the two. If the white man could have thought of the Indian as he did of a fellow white man, and if the Indian could have thought of the Caucasian as he did of his fellow tribesman, what a different world, what a different history would have been! Instead of an eye for an eye, or a tooth for a tooth, or a life for a life, each would have done to the other as he would have wished the other to do to him. Instead of rapine, famine and war, there would have been justice, prosperity and peace. The centuries of dishonor would have been centuries of splendid honor. But it was not to be. Each thought the other so different, so unlike itself; each misunderstood the other, and so they had to fight it out.

The years of bullet and arrow are past, but those years of struggle and war have left their mark on the minds of men. Tradition has painted for the conqueror the image of the inferior, incompetent, useless Indian, and for the conquered the image of a haughty, domineering, unjust white man. Neither race has dealt with a real race. Justice has not been done by the white race to the Indian. Justice has not been done by the Indian to the white. There can be no justice between those who think they are essentially unlike. There is no justice between the cat and the mouse, between man and the buffalo, between unlike races. Justice is the relation which exists between equals. Justice will prevail between the Indian and the white when each knows that he is the brother of the other,—the son of the same Great Father,—equal sharer in the privileges and

¹ An address delivered at the Third Annual Conference, October 16, 1913.

in the duties of a divine humanity. Justice will prevail when each race looks upon the other as it looks upon itself.

We both have been unjust in the measure of our power. Shall we not each pour into the scales a fourfold measure of generosity for the evil that we have thought and done? This will be the sign of our repentance,—the necessary cure of our own souls. Never, never can justice be, until love prevails. Who first can be generous? I make, then, my first appeal to the white race.

Yours is the opportunity to redeem the credit of the race. We need not unduly condemn our ancestors. They struggled and fought under the pressure for existence and the strain of misapprehension. One of my own family fought with Miles Standish against the red men of the Atlantic coast. Perhaps those hardy men knew not what they did. Perhaps they aimed at righteousness as truly in their roughness as we must do in our endeavor to be righteous and gentle today. Miles Standish may have been as unsuccessful in his method of wooing peace as he was in his method of wooing a wife.

If every citizen today will develop a conscience for himself and for his nation as stern and true as reigned in the hearts of Standish and his men, the Indian of to-day need not longer fear. It is the inactivity, the iniquity of indifference, that constitutes our great sin against the Indian to-day. There may be among us some who are greedy and avaricious, some who are treacherous and corrupt, but the white race lives under condemnation chiefly because it sits idly by and refuses to accept the responsibility which it cannot escape. The white race scarcely knows that it has power and responsibility, or else it fears to examine into the situation lest it find heavier obligations than it is ready to bear. I venture to make two assertions, however: First, every citizen has an obligation to the Indian which he has no right to ignore; second, honestly faced, the obligation does not involve a heavy or undue burden. The chief thing he must do to be honest is to proclaim to his neighbors and to his representatives in the government his belief that the nation has an obligation to the Indian, and proclaim his demand that every obligation shall be met honestly and in full measure. Let him by voice and vote scourge from public life anyone who would lessen the opportunities of the Indian, who would tolerate any trickery or any policy that would deprive an Indian to his disadvantage of his land or home. Let him scourge from public life one who would relegate the Indian to an inferior status under the flag that claims to recognize no race or color, no system of caste or class. Let the standard of freedom

and equal opportunity be planted on the crest of those Rockies to which the tribes of the continent have retreated, and there let it wave a sign to the people in the valleys and to the nations of the world that this nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to freedom, has not ceased to exist.

In particular there are several fundamental principles for which every citizen should stand. Beyond this he should insist that the details shall be entrusted to people who believe in the principles and who are competent by definite training and broad experience to carry them out. The Indian problem cannot be solved by good intentions, by piecemeal policies or by cheap men. The "vanishing policy" has to a large degree failed, because its administrators have not believed in it, or have not been big enough to carry it out. No doubt the money has vanished. Perhaps the policy has vanished, but the problem has remained. Nothing is so expensive as failure. Double the depth of understanding and (through well paid men) double the efficiency of administration, and you will cut in two the cost and time of the solution of the Indian problem. There is no economy like success.

This, then, is the first fundamental demand of the honest citizen,—a demand for a comprehensive and comprehending policy carried on with adequate funds by competent men. It follows, of course, that any lesser policy or any appointment to position of power and responsibility in the Indian Service for personal or political reasons is and must be regarded as a high crime against the nation and against the nation's wards. The nation cannot rightfully offer the Indian less than the best.

There is not time here to outline a complete Indian policy, but upon the basis of the principle so far suggested certain opportunities and duties become obvious and clear. The principles of equality,—that is, the doctrine of the right, of like treatment and of equal opportunity,—the principle of justice, and the principle of efficient administration, these three furnish the ground work for immediate and fundamental action. I call your attention briefly to five immediate corollary necessities.

1. In the first place, the Indian needs to know who he is and what his place in the country is. Thousands of Indians do not know whether they are citizens or non-citizens. If they do have nominal status, they do not know what their rights, privileges and immunities are. Indians of like quality are sometimes citizens, sometimes non-citizens. Indians of unlike quality may both be citizens, or they may both be non-citizens. No man can lay down

any rules, for there are no rules. A condition of confusion and injustice maintains, which is alike disgraceful for the nation and disastrous for the Indian. Through the Society of American Indians the red man asks for a careful and intelligible definition of his status; first, that he may know what his present standing is, and, second, that his people may know how to advance from stage to stage until they may share equally and fully in the rights, equally and fully in the duties of the American citizen. He asks that Congress pass the Carter Code Bill, which creates a commission of experts to determine and define what his status is or may be. Who in all the world would deny so simple and yet so fundamental a thing? It is but the first step toward justice. Without it there is no hope of justice. A man without a country, a race without a home, is the most pathetic sight on the face of the globe. It is for the white man to say whether his brother and ward shall longer wander blindfolded in the wilderness of despair. The continuing desperation, the continuing deterioration of thousands of Indians will find its first check when the white man raises his hand to say that no longer shall the Indian be the sport of arbitrary commands, no longer shall the Indian live in a world wherein there is no law to which he may conform, or to whose protection he may flee. No longer shall the Anglo-Saxon deny to the Indian the Anglo-Saxon's chiefest boast, the freedom of the reign of law.

2. In the second place, because of his utter lack of standing in the courts the Indian is denied any regular legal opportunity to recover property, even when he thinks it has been taken from him. Many tribes or bands of Indians believe that they have heavy claims of this sort against the government. They may be right,—they may be wrong. But we have always refused them the right to test their claims even in our own courts and according to our own laws. This is a double injustice, and it works a double wrong upon the Indian. Deprived of property and deprived of admission to our courts, the Indian has reason to believe we do not trust the courts ourselves. Let us find out what we owe our wards; let us pay to the last cent what we owe.

When we have defined and given the Indian his rights under the Constitution and have given him his rights in the courts and under the law, then we may expect him to turn his eyes away from Washington and away from the courts, to discover that his highest good consists in the things he can do for himself. Then for the first time he will stand on his own feet, a man among men, without any privileges or hopes beyond those common to all men, the maker of

his own fate, the noble red man. It is for the white man to open the Court of Claims and thus remove an ancient source of bitterness between the two races. You can secure the passage of the amended Stephens Bill, now pending in Congress. If you say the word, Congress will be glad to pass the bill.

3. In the third place, as population expands and the races come into closer contact and competition, there is a natural and almost unconscious tendency for the white race to look with longing upon the possessions of the Indian, to measure the gain he could make out of the Indian's land and to forget the welfare of the Indian himself. Who can measure the advantage of land for an army post against an Indian tribe that has by slow and patient process been brought to the point where it could live the modern life and now perforce must be dispossessed and sent to live where the old life prevails? One of the great objects of the government policy for nearly thirty years has been to induce Indians to take up independent homesteads on the public domain, and yet, this year, efforts are made to forbid the Indian Bureau even to complete the plans already under way. Thousands of Indians were to be stopped from taking this great forward step. Surely, even the people who would profit by the Indian's loss will not, when they understand the real situation, consent to any such mistaken policy. Surely all of us will rise *en masse* to protest against any compulsory concentration of the Indians within the fast vanishing reservation lines. Let the word come that injustice is done in Cuba or on the islands of the eastern seas, and instantly our treasure, our lives and our honor are at stake. We send our navy into Manila Bay and Santiago Bay, our troops to Cuba and to Porto Rico, and drive the agent of injustice away. Let one of our citizens suffer loss in Mexico, and instantly the voice of protest is raised in Congress. Shall we not then consider the welfare of those whose guardians we are, above all thoughts of our own advantage? Shall we not say that henceforth not one foot of land and not one drop of water will we take, if that foot of land or that drop of water is necessary for the welfare of the Indian? Rich or poor, the white man's honor is pledged for the red man's good.

4. In the fourth place, if all these things are so, it is worth while, nay, it is imperative, that a native leadership shall be developed. It is worth while, nay, it is imperative, that there shall be a worthy Society of American Indians. In the two years since it was organized two rival organizations have been formed, and have died. They died because they were based on ambition and

private gain. This Society has lived because its purpose is sacrifice of self and service for the race. It has won public approval in proportion to its refusal to be used for private gain. So long as it maintains its high ideals,—no longer,—it will have a claim upon your generous support. The Society, to do its great work, needs money. Both Indian and white man are intensely concerned that this great experiment of altruism and self-help shall not fail from the face of the earth. I appeal to you to become an Associate Member, and to contribute as you are able.

5. In the fifth place, let me repeat and emphasize the necessity of standing openly and strongly and all together for the obligation of the nation, for the rights of the Indian. Let your humble servant go back to the people of the plains and say, "Thus saith the people of the mountains: 'The red men are our brothers, and shall be treated like brothers. No man shall do them harm, and we will send messengers to the Great Council in Washington to see that henceforth full justice shall never fail them.'"

I make my second appeal to my friends, the Indians. I am a white man, but I know more of you than I know of white people in this audience or city. I have known your President longer than any other person here. You have given me your confidence to an unusual degree. You have known me and my ideas for years—longer than the life of this Society. What then can I tell you to-night? Perhaps not much that I have not said before, and yet I want to talk to you for at least a few minutes. I crave your attention and your charity.

It would be wrong to think that all the duties were on the one side. Indians have duties to the white race. Just as the white man must believe in the capacity of the Indian, so the Indian must believe in the kindness of the white man. We both must learn to judge a man's ideas, not by the color of his skin, but by the value of the ideas. You expect me to look at this problem primarily in the light of the welfare of the Indian. You are right in this, and I try to do so. May I not expect you to look at it at least partially in the light of the welfare of the white race? The white race has many problems to solve, many burdens to bear. Are you planning to serve the rest of the world, as you think the rest of the world should serve you? If we of another race are to be truly and wisely kind to you, we must study and struggle to understand you. May we not hope and expect that you will try equally hard to understand us? Does the heart of the red man throb with love and sympathy for the white man in his blindness?

There are certain things you must do if you are to serve either your own race or the world. As members of the Society of American Indians you must in the first place maintain your high ideals. This is much more important than anything else you can do. It is and will continue to be your chief source of power. If you forget the ideals, power will slip away from you. When everybody is putting something of time or energy or money into the organization, it is gaining in power. When anybody is trying to get office or position or influence or lands or money out of the organization, it is losing power. It is an old saying and true that he who would save his life must lose it. When you give up your personal ambitions in order to help other people, then your soul grows. You have lost your life, and it returns to you a new and better and greater self. When your Society is a means by which you can sacrifice yourself for the good of your race, it is a power which cannot be broken. See to it that no personal, no political, no racial ambitions enter into your plans or platform. See to it that your officers and leaders are men and women who can hold the whole Society together and can retain the confidence of the whole country even as your leading officers now do. Remember that you want the best for your people, not that you want your friends to have good jobs or high positions. Remember, too, that you want nothing for your race to which it is not entitled, nothing for any member of your race to which he is not entitled. An Indian should not ask for anything just because he is an Indian. He should desire only those things for which he has a just claim as a man in even competition with other men. When you are looking after the interests of the children, get the highest trained and best trained teacher in the market. Don't sacrifice the education of your children just to give a job to an Indian. Demand highly trained men of broad sympathies in all positions affecting Indians, and you will command respect and get what you want. Demand positions for Indians, and you will lose public respect. See to it that Indians have as good and as high training as other people, and nobody can keep them out of good positions. By insistence on high ideals the Indian will always win. Let nobody fool you into thinking that you are so different that the second best is good enough for you.

2. In the second place, remember that you are valuable to the Society in proportion to the regularity and diligence with which you serve. Ask yourself where the Society would be if it had depended on you for its existence this last year. What every Society and every race needs is people who are always on the job, whether

they feel like it or not, in good or bad weather, in bad luck or good luck. Your officers have to work very much harder than necessary because some of you don't answer letters right away. Every member should feel responsible for the success of the Society. Every member should vow that every single week he will do something for the Society. If he can't do anything else he can get a postal card and write to the Secretary and say, "Dear Mr. Secretary, I am thinking about our Society. What can I do to help?" You don't know how discouraged a Secretary can get, so you don't know how happy such postal cards would make him. If every member would never fail to do a little every week the Society would boom as it never has boomed before.

3. In the third place, appreciate your officers. Who they are and what they do means everything to you. Last fall the editor of one of the great magazines said to me, "The Society seems to be in good hands, and I am ready to do anything within my strength to help them." You probably do not know how completely the Society owes its very existence to the labors of its chief officers. I remember the tremendous energy put into the first temporary organization by the first Chairman and Secretary, Mr. Dagenett and Mrs. La Flesche. You do not need to have me say that you have been signally fortunate in your first permanent officers, your present President and Secretary. I do not know so well what time and money Mr. Coolidge has put into the work, but I do know that his abundant geniality and tact have been like precious oil, keeping the machinery in smooth working order. Nor do I know the extent of time and energy and money that Mr. Parker has put into your service. I do not believe it would be possible to measure it. It seems almost impossible that in all the world you could find another man so completely fitted for the position he holds, or one so devoted and so unselfish. So long as he will consent to serve, you must never let him go. But you and I must take better care of him. He cannot always strain every day and every night, every week and every month. You and I, every one of us, must see to it that he shall never meet the expenses of the Society out of his own pocket, and we must see to it that he has a salary paid every month. It is not fair that he should lose money when he is serving us. But more than that, you can make things convenient for him, can help him and can encourage him. Mr. Parker has made a great secretary and a wonderful editor for you. Let him know beyond peradventure, in word and in deed, that you appreciate him. As you honor him you strengthen yourself in public confidence.


4. In the fourth place, remember your own people. Who are they? Where are they? Indians are a broken people, scattered in the mountains and over the sage-brush plain! Your people are not here. They cannot afford to come. They do not care to come. Who will care for them? Who will carry the message to them? You have seen a vision of the restored nation. Who will open their eyes to the same splendid sight? Think of the poor, of the sick, even of the bad. Are there any? Are you interested in them? You and I do not deserve good fortune and better prospects unless we will endeavor to secure good fortune and better prospects for those who have them not. The man who rises above his race and is willing to forget those less successful than he is not the man he ought to be. You are not that kind; but do you remember that you are the ones who can get closest to your people? Do you remember that you must be the messenger to your people yourself if the discouraged are to receive new courage, if the weak are to be made strong, if the unwise are to be made wise? We all have made mistakes, but forgetting those things that are behind and looking forward to those things that are ahead, let us press forward and let us help every brother to press forward to the happy time when the measure of prosperity is found, not in dollars, but in whatsoever things are lovely, pure, and of good report.

Most Indians are poor in this world's goods, and always will be poor except that they earn more money. Suppose the sixty millions of cash held in trust by the government belonged equally to all the Indians, and should be handed out once for all; each Indian would get the munificent sum of \$225. On the average, what the Indian receives must come from the labor of his hands and brain. But wealth does not consist in land and money, but in the thoughts and friendships of men. As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he. Man is wealthy as he improves his mind and strengthens his soul. Man is wealthy as he becomes more and more like his Maker in wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness and truth. You, my friends, will be true to your race when you see in your people the possibilities of divinity and give of your very selves in constant endeavor to bring those possibilities into full fruition. What are you going to do to lift the lives of the poorest and weakest on the reservation? What will you do to make the lives of these fuller and deeper and richer every day the year around? It is easy to do big things before the public eye on a spectacular occasion once a year. It is a great thing to do the little service all unseen every day in the year. What will you do for your people? You cannot

all go back to the reservation, but you can all plan and work for those who are there.

In the fifth place, and finally, be just and generous to the white man. Be just and stern, if you will, to every rascal of every race, but do not think that a rascal necessarily is a white man, or that a white man is necessarily a rascal. It will be necessary to discriminate and to give your trust to those who prove to have the deepest knowledge, the wisest plans, the most unselfish motives, and the most genuine sympathy. Believe that there are such; look for them, counsel with them. You will be happier and they will be happier for your trust. More than that, because of the great difference in numbers, you will secure public policies to your advantage only as you can interest the white race in those policies. Any attempt to "go it alone" is doomed to failure. The Indian in the nation is like a man in society. No man either liveth or dieth to himself. You must let us help you, as we must let you help us. Then let us be friends, sharing fully in thought and deed and enjoying a friendship based on a mutual desire to serve. Let us try to say to each other what we say about each other. Let us yoke ourselves under a joint restraint in order that we may pull in the same direction and to the same goal, the goal of a new and better civilization.

This, then, is the gist of the whole matter. The strong race must remember that responsibility is proportional to power, and the weaker race, as it aspires to power, must remember that duties come when power comes. Each race must remember that rights and duties rise and fall together. Neither should accept power except as it is prepared to accept the hard yoke of duty. When Indians have the same rights as white men they will have the same duties as white men. But in that day East will no longer be East, West no longer West, but both shall stand before the great white throne of justice, happy and glad that they have entered into the kingdom of the brotherhood of man.



I do the very best I know how — the very best I can; and I mean to keep doing so until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference. — *Abraham Lincoln.*

The American Indian of Today¹

By PRESIDENT SHERMAN COOLIDGE

ONE OF the speakers last night said that the American people erected a memorial in New York City to the Indian in the form of a big statue of an Indian. He said, "They do not need that memorial. The Indian is not dead. He is very much alive, and needs greater things than statues."

Now, we started out with a new life staring us in the face — that which was brought over from Europe, therefore we have had to adapt ourselves to an entirely new mode of living. We have advanced to the present condition in fifty years. Up to that time the nation in general pursued the policy of war and extermination.

It may be of interest to you to know that we have among us today in this room one of the officials — if not the most important official — of our organization, whose name is Arthur C. Parker, State Archeologist of New York and Secretary-Treasurer of our Society. There was another man by the name of Parker — Ely Parker, I believe, was the name of the General. General Parker was Military Secretary to General Grant when Robert E. Lee surrendered, and it is in the handwriting of that Indian that we have the terms of peace that brought the North and South together, and that same General Parker was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs under General Grant, and it was General Grant that issued a proclamation of peace to all the tribes of the United States. And from that time on the nation has pursued the policy of peace and education, and in fifty years two-thirds of the Indians are called "taxed Indians," which is a long way toward complete American citizenship.

Another speaker has reminded us that there were thirteen of mid-Western Indians who took part in the Revolutionary War. There were Indians in every war that we have had, including the Spanish-American War, and not only that, but we have had Indians in the army in all our frontier struggles. We have had them as soldiers, we have had them as scouts, we have had them as policemen on the reservations, and they have not held back when they were in duty bound to arrest friends, relatives, and even to kill them for the welfare of the citizenship of the United States. Faithful to their duty,

¹An address delivered before the student body of Denver University during the Third Annual Conference.

they were not found wanting when it came to a fulfilment of duty. That is the American Indian, and if ever, as a citizen, the Indian is called upon to shoulder the musket for the service of his country, he will march off under the aspiring folds of our banners and as loyally offer his life upon the altar of the Constitution as does any American.

We are banded together for the honor of the race and for the good of the country; everything must be subservient to that. That we are enabled to do this shows the advance we have made, and it is due especially to those who had the unusual advantage of schools and colleges and universities.

Why, when I first started out in life all I could do was by sign language to make my wants known. There is a universal language called the "sign language" among the Indians of the Western mountains and plains. I remembered that language; I understood it. I was among the Crows and the Sioux when I was taken away from the Arapahoes. One white man who had married a Sioux woman learned this language; he could speak it as well as any Indian. In fact, he said it was so easy and natural that even a bear could understand it. I said, "How do you make that out, Frank?" He said, "I went out bear hunting one day, and seeing a great big silver tip, I shot and wounded him. It displeased him so much that he chased me, and so I threw my gun under a tree and climbed the tree. He came over to the gun, examined it, smelled it, turned it over, and after awhile he picked it up and looked at it, cocked it, looked up, and pulled the trigger, but it didn't go off. Then he looked up at me, made signs of putting a cartridge into the chamber and told me by signs to (indicating throwing motion)" Frank continued, "I knew what the bear wanted, but I wasn't going to throw him any cartridges that I had in my belt."

I was taken by an army officer who was once stationed at Fort Logan, and I was taken up to Montana when I was a boy. He was stationed at Fort Shaw, and the children gave parties that winter, and I was invited to all of them, and finally I asked Mrs. Coolidge if I could not have a party and invite the children who had been inviting me. She said, "Yes, Sherman, I can give you a party. What kind of a party do you want — a birthday party?" I said, "Yes, that would be all right — any kind of a party." She said, "I cannot give it to you just now, but how would the twenty-second of February do?" I said, "I would just as soon be born on the twenty-second of February as any other day." So I was born in Wyoming and had my birthday in Montana.

Up in Wyoming I worked twenty-six years as missionary among my people, the Arapahoes, and one day I happened to be in the county seat — it was the Fourth of July — and a man by the name of Coolidge, having the same name as myself, was the orator of the day. I met him with several friends on the street, and he introduced me very nicely and politely to these friends, and one of these friends looked in a rather queer way at him, as much as to say, "How is it you both have the same name?" So without any further ado he answered the man's glance and said, "Why, it is all right. We have the same name. That is not strange. But," he said, "of course, I'm a real Coolidge; my ancestors came over in the Mayflower." "Yes," I responded, "but mine were on the reception committee when they arrived."

I am very glad indeed to have this chance to speak to you about our race, and to tell you that it is very much alive. Many think it is vanishing, but it seems to be increasing, and I believe that if you give the Indian half a chance he will shoulder the responsibilities of State and church, and shoulder the burden like a man. General Grant said that the Indian is a man, and should be treated as such. All honor to General Grant! He seems to have been the first great champion of our human rights.

Instead of roaming all over the country as once, we are beginning now to settle down in town and in community, and we are becoming well aware that the responsibilities of life must be shouldered by us as well as other people; that we must not remain dependent children; that we must not be a burden, but that we must take off our frock and become productive, useful men and women.

Our Third Platform

Those who desire to know what constructive measures should be advocated for the betterment of Indian conditions can not do better than study the planks in our Denver platform. There are great thoughts there that, if expanded and brought into action by Congress and by the Indians, would react like a miracle in clearing up abuses, claims and misery. A great change would come that would herald before the world that America had redeemed her pledges to the Indian and that the Indian had awakened to his great opportunity in the world of to-day. Study our platform, stand loyally for it, push it with all your strength.

Looking Backward¹

By WM. J. KERSHAW (Menominee)

THE questions that confront this association are strictly practical ones. Our President said the other night that he was glad that he was no longer compelled to look backward. I am of the opinion that a backward glance once in a while is of advantage to the Indian race, and especially is it of advantage to the students of a great university like this—to take a glance backward into the pioneer history of the country in order to discover not only the written history of the Indian, but those romantic incidents in which both the Indian and the white man have figured.

These practical questions which I have mentioned to you we will probably have to solve in a great measure before you enter into the activities of citizenship yourselves.

One of these romantic incidents in the history of the pioneers relates to the history of Wisconsin. Many years ago there was born upon the Wisconsin River a lady who was afterward named Wisconsin Vancleve. "Wisconsin" means "rushing water." Some years ago she wrote a story for the magazines, in which she described her early life among the Indians at Fort Crawford and later at Fort Snelling, in Minnesota. Her father was a commander at those posts, and she told how, in the early days, in a great conference between the Chippewa and the Sioux, a dispute had arisen between these tribes because of certain depredations committed by the Sioux upon the Chippewa. Her father there, with but a handful of soldiers, was confronted with a very serious situation. There were thousands of these Indians, and but a handful of soldiers, and a false step would precipitate conflict, and that might have very dire results. Her father arranged it by calling the chiefs of the tribes together and getting them to agree that the young Sioux—three of them—who had committed these depredations should run the gauntlet, and accordingly arrangements were made whereby these young men went down through the lines of the Chippewa, and they all bit the dust before they reached the goal. This lady wrote this in the article which I mentioned, and I want to say to you that thereby hung this true, tragic incident in the early history of Wisconsin. There was a Winnebago chief across the Mississippi by the name of Red Bird. Information came to him that these three

¹ An address delivered before the the student body of Denver University during the Third Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians.

Sioux were members of his tribe, and had been killed by the white men, and Red Bird immediately went on the war path. There was a battle with a flatboat on the Mississippi River, and Red Bird himself, with his own hand, killed a man near Fort Crawford or Prairie du Chien. The truth was discovered, and Red Bird's rebellion collapsed. The United States troops went after him, and at a point not far from the place where I was born, Red Bird surrendered, and the officer who received his surrender sent an official report of the incident to Washington, and you will find it upon the record there now substantially as I have related it. He said that Red Bird was one of the most magnificent specimens of physical manhood that he had ever seen, and he came in to surrender after the spectacular manner of the Indian in those days, clothed in white buckskin, with his peace pipe bound across his breast, and the red bird, from which he derived his name, upon his shoulder; and, stepping into the presence of the officer, he said, in substance, that he had come to surrender, and, stooping down, he picked up a handful of dust and he scattered it in the air. He exclaimed, "My life is gone like that. I would not recall it. Do not put me in chains. Let me be shot." We have just built a new capitol in the State of Wisconsin, and this story of the surrender of Red Bird occupies, as a great painting, one of the great panels in the reception room of that capitol.

Now, these little stories which we get by looking back are inspiring, and I think that no more valuable suggestion could be made to students than to inspire them with the idea of looking into these stories in their early student life, that they may have a better stimulus to study the practical questions affecting the Indian in more mature life.

The Indian is the "mystery of the Western Hemisphere." You don't know him. He is among you, but he is not of you. You sit at table with him, you attend church with him, but you don't know him. And from this great institution of learning there may go forth some of you endowed with the spirit of self-denial and self-abnegation which will enable you to go and study this man, study him from the first bead upon his moccasin to the last feather in his crown, that you may tell the future world who he is.

Not far from your door is the wonderland of this world—Southwestern United States. There are now twenty-six prehistoric cities discovered there, standing just as they did when the Spaniards found them, where the questions of municipal government and woman suffrage were solved long before the white man set foot on the American soil. Who of you will go down among these people and

among these ruins in an effort to learn what the American Indian is? In the shadows of this dim past there is much of value for men of to-day to know. We look into the heavens, we study the life of a cell, and so, peering into the past of the Indian's mysterious pre-history, you will find both inspiration and romance.



The Indian Commissioner's Report

In the first annual report of Commissioner Cato Sells, just off the press, are found many highly significant items. Every close student of "the Indian Problem" should study this important document.

The immense opportunity for the improvement of existing industrial conditions of the Indians is referred to. The Commissioner states that the Indians have more than six hundred thousand acres of irrigated lands; approximately nine million acres of agricultural land; and more than fifty million acres of grazing land, and the government has appropriated approximately ten million dollars in connection with Indian irrigation projects. Many able-bodied Indians who have valuable lands are wholly or partially without seed, teams, or implements to utilize such lands. This is particularly true on several reservations where large sums of tribal funds have been used in constructing irrigation systems and is in part the reason why such large areas of irrigated lands are now under cultivation.

The valuable grazing lands of the Indians offer unusual opportunities for increasing the meat supply of the country, and at the same time furnish large profit and employment for the Indians. During the last year the Indians cultivated less than six hundred thousand acres of their vast area of agricultural land. The Commissioner will make an aggressive effort to procure reimbursable appropriations with which to advance to the Indians the greatly needed equipment, stock and other betterments absolutely necessary, that they may make beneficial use of their resources and become self-supporting and progressive citizens. These reimbursable appropriations, if procured and properly used, will result in ultimately materially decreasing the gratuity appropriations. The need is stated for additional legislation by Congress to meet the purposes, such as legislation authorizing the mining on Executive Order Reservations; legislation segregating tribal and trust funds in the United States Treasury; and legislation authorizing the submission of claims of Indian Tribes to the Court of Claims.

The Indian and the Wild West Show¹

By CHAUNCEY YELLOW ROBE (Sioux)

I AM GLAD that the circumstances enabled me to be present upon this convention; and as I look about this gathering, of the leaders of my own race, it is a great inspiration to me to think that we are assembled here in the interest of our common cause.

I have come to this convention with a question that is familiar to you all — The Wild West Indian Show.

Before I go any further to speak upon this subject I wish to ask one question: Is there any one here that will tell me that the Wild West Show is a good thing for the Indian? If this Society is in favorable accord with such a practice, I am willing to form a new Wild West Show right here among the members of this Society to take the place of the celebrated Buffalo Bill, whose last camping ground was Denver.

The Indian is not to be censured for the Wild West Indian Show, for his condition and the present life which the Indian is forced to lead has drawn him into such shows. What benefit has the Indian derived from these Wild West Shows? None, but what are degrading, demoralizing and degenerating, and all their influences fall far short of accomplishing the ideals of citizenship and civilized state of affairs which we most need to know. Tribal habits and customs are apt to be degraded for show purposes, because the Indian Bureau under our government is constantly encouraging the Indian to degenerate by permitting hundreds of them to leave their homes for fraudulent savage demonstrations before the world. All these Wild West Shows are exhibiting the Indian worse than he ever was, and deprive him of his high manhood and individuality.

We see the Indian. He is pictured in the lowest degree of humanity. He is exhibited as a savage in every motion picture theatre in the country. We see the Indian, in his full native costume, stamped on the five-dollars bills as a reminder of his savagery. We see a monument of the Indian in New York harbor as a memorial of his vanishing race. The Indian wants no such memorial monument, for he is not yet dead.

The name of the North American Indian will not be forgotten as

¹An address delivered at the Third Annual Conference, Denver, Oct. 14-19, 1913.

long as the rivers flow and the hills and the mountains shall stand, and though we have progressed, we have not vanished.

At every celebration upon the reservation borders the Indian is in demand for show exhibitions. I have had the privilege of witnessing some of these occasions where the Indian is induced by pay to perform the naked war dance before the intelligent people who call themselves Christians. Under these circumstances is it any wonder that sometimes it is considered that the Indian does not possess the adaptability for Anglo-Saxon civilization?

The fact is here demonstrated that the Indian is truly a man, and that he can become adapted to the highest state of development and achievement. Every effort should be made to lead him through the paths of education and Christianity to self-supporting and independent American citizenship. It is for us who feel more deeply and trust in our God to consider our own difficult questions, to hope that the day is not far distant when the reservation system and all these hindrances that concern us will be removed, and that all of our people will enjoy the same privilege of citizenship that you and I do.



A Word to the Indian Student

By DORA B. McCAULEY

There are a great many Indian boys and girls who have received a grade school education and who return to their homes, feeling that they have done all that they are expected to do in life. To these I would say, you have done nothing; some one else has done something for you and you have as yet failed to show your own worthiness. It is for you now to pay back in work. Do not be content to stay at home, doing practically nothing, but make a place for yourself in the world. If you show yourself willing and alert there will always be a place for you. If you could once feel the joy of independence, you would never again wish to drift along in an idle, listless way.

You hear so many cries of "Give us a chance!" Take a chance for yourself like so many other American boys and girls who are eager to rise above their environment. When you prove that you are capable and as efficient as any other American, the people, through Congress, can not fail to grant you all the rights of an American.

What the Indian Can Do for Himself¹

By CHAS. H. KEALEAR (Sioux)

THE SUBJECT which I am to speak on, "What Indians Can Do for Themselves and for Their Country," is a most interesting one. Now we might say right on the start that the Indian can do almost anything for himself, but we shall have to sort those things out and pick out the best that he can do for himself. I think when he puts himself in the proper place after a quiet deliberation with himself as to what is the proper course for him to take in life, he will then understand his situation.

I have come in contact with the Arapahoes more than I have with my own tribe, and I understand them a good deal better. In their speeches, in their councils, they have always spoken of the past. They are always looking behind — what a nice time they had, how well they lived years ago, before the white man encroached upon them.

Now we know our situation very well — our conditions in the past and as they exist at present. In order to overcome these conditions of the present time and get away from the conditions of the past, we will have to look forward, not backward. You may go all over the country, on different reservations, and who are the boys and girls that are making steady progress? Who are they? You will not find among them one who is always looking into the past. They have set their faces forward. They have put themselves side by side with the white man — our pale-face brethren — and they say, "We can do as much; we can do as well." And they are accomplishing that purpose in life to make a living for themselves and their family.

What can the Indian do for himself is the question. It is a very important question with us as a race that is just stepping from the past into the life of the great nation. We are making that one long step. In the past we have made steps a little at a time — very slow progress. The Indian has taken his place among the white men, but I wish to say here that I think he took his place in the nation years ago.

If you will remember the time this government bought the possessions of the French, soon after 1851, the Yankton Sioux Indians

¹An address delivered before the Third Annual Conference in Denver, Colorado.

at St. Croix, in 1851, signed allegiance to the Government of the United States. When they signed allegiance to the Government of the United States they became potential citizens of the United States. There were other tribes at that time, or soon after, who swore their allegiance to the United States; that they would fight under the flag and serve their country. So we find now that we have sworn allegiance to the flag — that we have taken our place as men of the nation.

The more education that is pounded into us the further we will wedge into the better standards of life.

That is the place for the Indian to take, and he must take it. We are going to take it. We are going to put ourselves right among the best of men and say, "We are able to do as well as you can, and we are going to do it."



Our Power and Our Weakness

Our power for good does not consist in the small local matters that we can agitate, but in the great things we all can agree upon, earnestly push, act upon, and bring into reality. Our Denver platform is a good example of what we are calling all the country to consider and give us as Indians and Americans. Our Society can not change in a day or a year, agencies, allotments, trust funds, or grant every request. We have not greater power than the Interior Department, the Indian Bureau or Congress. We are only a small social force representing the primary needs of a hampered people. Our weakness consists in our selfishness and in our petty demands; our strength consists in our individual or collective effort directed through the channels of the Society for great needs. Our main object is not to perform the functions of the Indian Rights Association, to get Indians jobs or to abolish the Indian Bureau, *but our main object is to awaken the Indians to a knowledge that they themselves must learn to fight their own battles, transact their own business and become valuable men in a valuable country.* We do ask the Nation to provide better laws and a chance for better education, but at the same time we ask the Indian to take upon himself the responsibility that comes with increased power and thus save himself as every man should. Therefore, do not expect too much from a new Society. Expect great things for yourself and add to our forces your power for good. Let us stand together in this common cause.

The Need of Mutual Understanding¹

By DR. JOHN CARL PARISH

(Associate Secretary, S. A. I.)

FROM the time when the ships of the white man first sailed into view of the Indians down to the present time there has been a constant wall of misunderstanding between the two races. It was an unfortunate thing, but a very natural thing. Let us consider the situation for a moment. There was the Atlantic Ocean dividing, with several thousand miles, two continents upon which there had been developing for hundreds or thousands of years two distinct, diametrically different civilizations, each with its own system of industry and its own system of religion, ideals and customs of life. Neither race knew anything about the other, or even knew of the other's existence, and then, when these three little ships sailed across the sea, the meeting of the two races was precipitated, and thereupon was involved this necessary combination or contact between two races which has opened the problem which has resulted and has continued down to the present time.

Now, this lack of understanding, as I say, is the most natural thing in the world. These men came over to this country with their preconceived notions and prejudices, whether good or bad, and they were absolutely obliged to put themselves in touch with the people who were already here. It was almost an impossibility. And in the same way, the people who were already here—the American Indians—endowed with their racial peculiarities and ideals, customs and religion, were unable, for the same reason, to put themselves in the minds of the people who were arriving.

There were certain additional difficulties in the case of the English colonists. The people of the French nation were different from the people of the English nation. There was a certain imaginative type of mind that was needed in the contact of the two races. They needed to get out of their own prejudices, their own type of mind, their habits of thinking, and see what it was that was animating the life of the people in whose land they were coming; and the French were able to do that much more readily than the English. The English have been more or less of a stiff-necked people, and although I think the history of the English people has been a history of sincerity, it has also been a history of a great deal of stubborn-

¹An address delivered before the Third Annual Conference at Denver, Colorado. 1914

ness in the persistence of some ideas that were absolutely ineffective in bringing together the two races; and as I say, all through the years that have passed since that time there has been much misunderstanding. The people who landed in New England, with their ideas of religion, felt that the Indian had no religion whatever, and the white man's religion, although the Indian showed in a great many cases his willingness to look into it, was an absolutely new thing to the Indian. We have simply been making an effort from that time down to get together, to understand each other, to get into each others' viewpoints. I think that has been the greatest trouble in the amalgamation of the races.

The same failure to appreciate the viewpoint of the other race has existed when we have come to tell the story of the last three hundred years. The historians of the past, all the way through, have followed very largely the same attitude of misunderstanding. If you will take almost any historical treatise and look into the description of the exploration period I think you will find this to be true. Take, for instance, a common example — La Salle. I believe that you will find that the description of his explorations, instead of beginning with the land which he explored and the people who lived in the land which he explored, will go back into the little town in France where he was born, clear out of the surroundings in which his explorations lay, begin with his life in France, his early training, and follow him through the different experiences of his younger days, and then through his life in the St. Lawrence Valley, and so eventually reach explorations in the Mississippi Valley, and watch the events that followed from the standpoint of Europe. To my mind there is another standpoint that we must get hold of. The way to study the exploration of the Mississippi Valley is to get down into the Mississippi Valley before La Salle ever heard of it, and see what was being done there, see what the situation was, see what the surroundings were, and see what the natural resources were and who the people were who lived there, and what were their industries and their methods of life. Then when you have put into the readers' minds — the students' minds — an understanding of what was there and how the Indians thought and how they looked upon things, then, keeping that same standpoint, let these Frenchmen, these Europeans, come in. Then, understanding what the circumstances were, you will understand the warfare that followed; you will understand what the attitude of the American Indian was toward the explorers. Now that is a thing that I think American historians will have to recognize.

I don't want to be understood as making a rash criticism of all history. If I may be pardoned for the use of a modern method of speech, I don't want to be understood as being the man who put the "hiss" in history; but I do think that there is that standpoint that has to be considered.

Now then, what does all this have to do with the subject we are discussing this morning? What can the Indian do for his race and for the country? In the first place, he has to do the same thing that the white man has to do — he must have an understanding of the other people's standpoint; he must put himself in turn in place of the white man, understand why it is the white man does certain things, and assist the white man to understand why it is the Indian does certain things.

There is where I think a great deal can be accomplished. In other words, you have got to know your own history; you have got to have a knowledge of these things. It helps us all in our study of future conditions to see and know what has been done in the past in order that we may proceed without mistakes and with effectiveness in the future.

Now, how much do we white men and Indians know about the relations between the white race and the Indian race in the past? We know certain definite things, some of them very gratifying, some of them otherwise. How much of an understanding does the ordinary white man have — to take that up first — of the relations between his government and the Indian? I think it would be pretty safe to say that a very large proportion of the white people of this country have absolutely no knowledge of what has been done, whether good, bad or indifferent, by his people toward the Indian race and their people. Now that is a thing that must be changed — absolutely must be changed. And it is the duty of the white man to bring about that change. The same thing is true of the Indian. I think, without any question, there is to a certain extent the same lack of knowledge on the part of the Indian of his own history and of the relations between his people and the white race — between his people and the United States Government. I do not mean in question of detail; I mean the whole broad general policy between the government and the Indian. That must be understood completely by the great mass of Indians before we can make any long steps in advance.

But there is another thing: I was interested in the passing remarks that were made by one of the officers, to the effect that the thing rests very largely upon the Indians themselves — any progress

that is made. I believe that heartily. I believe, in fact, that it is up to the Indians in these respects to educate the white man. We have talked so much about the education of the Indian, but along certain lines the white man needs to be educated. I think he is ready for it. I think the white men of the country are sincerely ready to be shown the true state of affairs, and that they will co-operate in working toward a better state, but they have got to be educated, and it is up to you, the American Indians, to perform that process of education. It was tried in the first place, in the first hundred years of the country's history, by the medium of warfare, but the Indian did not educate the white man very successfully in that way. There are other ways in which it cannot be done any more successfully. Invective and complaint against minor things will never accomplish it. It has got to be a purposeful study under competent leadership, such as is growing up now in this very Society, discarding for the present the smaller things, working along the lines of the greater things. That is the policy that is going to accomplish results; and by your actions, by your character, by your influence in writing and in speech, and through the influence of this Society, I believe it is possible for the North American Indians to educate the white man in such a way that this wall of misunderstanding will be broken down, and that the two races will work side by side toward a greater citizenship and more freedom in every respect.

And so I am rejoicing to-day in the possibilities of this Society. In the past one great difficulty has been that there has been no adequate organization in which the Indian and the white man could get together to work out these benefits. There has to be in every movement some central body that will crystallize the thought, that will crystallize this tendency and desire to reform, and put it into action and put it into reality. Now this Society, under the leadership that it has, and admitting as it does, to active and associate membership, the members of both races, I believe is a power that is going to accomplish great things, and I hope in succeeding years it will have a growth and development commensurate with the importance of its purposes.



Begin your preparation now for the Madison Conference, October 6-11, 1914. The Society must present strong papers, sound arguments and declare a constructive platform. Study, think and be ready to act with intelligence.

Acquiring a Standard of Value¹

By JOHN M. OSKISON (Cherokee)

THE Indian wins success — and I am thinking more especially of material success, money success — by coming into contact with people who can give him a *standard*. I think the “Harveyizing” process along the Santa Fe Railroad, from a commercial standpoint, a material standpoint, is going to be a mighty good thing for the Indian. I don’t care especially to see them squatting out in their picturesque rigs when the trains come in, and all that, but they do get a chance to acquire a standard of value. As soon as an Indian can get close to a standard of value and can adopt it, he loses that prehistoric idea concerning value. As soon as he has reached that point, I have personally ceased to fear for him. My only disquietude comes for fear he is going to overdo it, because I have noticed a certain trait among Indians, when they come into contact with civilization and get this standard of value, and that is that they are shrewd bargainers, who are apt to overdevelop that bargaining instinct. It is rather oriental in character. So I don’t fear so much that the Indian will not set a proper value on what he does, what he can produce or what he has to offer to the world, as that he will be tempted to overvalue it, and when he finds this valuation is too high and cannot be accepted, generally he is apt to retreat into himself and think he is being badly treated. It is difficult, and it will be for a considerable time, for these Indians who are merging, to learn exactly what square dealing is. There is a great opportunity for someone who knows what square dealing is, commercial, legal, moral, to elaborate standards, so that the Indians can understand.

I have been down, within a few weeks, to the Pima Reservation, in Arizona, and I saw there a gradation of opportunity that seemed to me exceedingly interesting. The first group of Pimas that I went to lived near Mesa, in a section which is highly developed and all under irrigation. I found it difficult, with my lack of knowledge of the irrigation technique, to follow their talks. They had a series of grievances about their water supply, and it all hinged on certain degrees of service. They were A, B and C users under certain contracts with a certain water users’ association. They got so

¹An address delivered before the Third Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians at Denver, Colorado.

many acre-feet, and got the water on the land at a certain time. From there I went over to Sacaton, and there found a different set of grievances. The men at Sacaton wanted to talk. They seemed at Sacaton to understand less definitely what they wanted. From Sacaton I went to Black Water, and at Black Water it was a whole lot of petty details, like a bunch of children complaining that their teacher favored somebody else; there was internal dissensions based on what seemed immaterial things. Then I went to the McDowell sub-agency, where some of the Apaches lived. They all thought that I and the people who were with me were powerful enough to fix anything that was wrong, so they wanted to talk to us about it all, so they spent two hours telling us about this policeman they had, and how the farmer went around in his automobile, and did not show them how to farm, and how this fellow was charged with beating his wife, and he was not guilty of that, and how they put him in jail anyway and sent his wife to school — little, little, little details; their minds were not on the big things, and it was all one-sided; that is, they could consider no other side than their own. And then we went to San Carlos among those Apaches, and they had various little troubles which they were excited about; and then to Fort Apache.

This may sound like a travelogue, but I don't want it to be one. In each of those places was opportunity for some Indian who could see clearly, who could talk sanely and moderately, to take a place of leadership; to take from the shoulders of the agent and superintendent a lot of work which he was not equipped to do, which he was too busy to look after, even if he had the best intention.

For instance, the San Carlos and the Fort Apache Indians, about 5,000 in all, own a great reservation — the White Mountain Reservation. A lot of that is good grazing land. The superintendent leases that grazing land, and the money, of course, which is received belongs to these two groups of Indians. The superintendents are supposed to use that money for the benefit of the Indians, pay it out to them and give them rations — anything that seems feasible. There is a project on foot to build a dam on San Carlos Reservation. This dam would flood considerable of the land under cultivation, and would back the water up to certain points on two rivers. Now the people of Arizona, through their representative in Congress, wanted to build bridges over these two rivers back of the point where the dam water would extend, and he succeeded in having put into the Indian Bill — I am not sure it was the Indian Bill, but at any rate a bill that was pending — a provision for the building of

these two bridges, and having them built in large part out of the funds belonging to the Indians of these two reservations. I talked to the superintendents at San Carlos and at Fort Apache, and they agreed that these two bridges would in no sense benefit those two tribes of Indians.

They made their protest, and the provision was cut out of the bill, but at the last moment it was restored there by the Congressman from Arizona. The Superintendent at Fort Apache, in talking about this, said: "All I can say is that the Congressman from Arizona had better never come onto the Fort Apache Reservation. If he ever comes over here he will sure be killed, because those wild fellows over at Sibicue know these bridges are going to be built, that those bridges are going to be of no service to them, and it is simply a plan to get the bridges built for the white people of Globe and Southern Arizona who want to go over that road, and they know the Congressman from Arizona is responsible for it, and what they will do when he comes over here is perfectly plain." Well, it is very likely that the Congressman from Arizona will go there. I know him personally very well. He would not believe anything of that sort, and I think if he heard that he would directly go. It is just possible he might be killed. The Superintendent realized that he was saying a very sensational thing, and he realized he was saying it to a newspaper man and all that, but I have no reason for doubting it. Now if that happens, it is going to set back the whole Indian business a long way; it is going to block the progress of those 2,500 Indians at Fort Apache indefinitely, and give the whole business a black eye; and yet it is up to that Superintendent — who is overburdened with details, who has half a dozen things that he wants done, who has no clerk to help him, even at this time — it is up to him to tackle that situation and prevent anything of that sort, and to try, if he can, to stop the building of those bridges to save the money which belongs to these Apaches, and it seems pretty hopeless.

Such situations, of course, exist. Any of the other men who have gone around can give you instances. I have heard it from dozens of sources. That is the specific opportunity. Somewhere among those Apaches there ought to be some Indian who can take hold of that and get a hearing; somewhere in our Society there ought to be somebody who can help; somewhere in their tribe, in their reservation, every group of Indians, there ought to be somebody who can get a clear understanding of situations of that sort, and who can prevent them. This Society would be, to my mind, the ideal

medium through which to bring such matters before the attention of the proper authority.¹

Mr. Coolidge has read the telegram from the Commissioner. He has told you that we have free access of investigating conditions in the Interior Department, and he has shown you how cordially we are likely to be received by congressional investigating committees. They are all friendly. It is our opportunity, therefore, to gather the facts; to gather them in a cool-headed sort of way, so that we can go before these committees and lay facts before them on which they can act. That is to my mind the biggest opportunity the Indian has to-day for helping himself, and, incidentally, for getting the country straight on the Indian question.

I am speaking more especially of material things — the questions of land, water, coal, oil, timber, and all things which belong to the Indian, and which he can capitalize and which he will find a tremendous advantage later on. It is a matter of conserving his material resources and using them properly. I am not much of a preacher. I think the same opportunity exists along educational lines and along ethical lines generally. *It all means getting a standard of value fixed into the minds of the Indians, a standard which is fair to him and which is fair to his neighbors, and which is fair to everybody, and to insist that that standard be recognized.* That will be the greatest service which an Indian can perform for himself and his people.



The Robinson Bill

On another page you will find the text of the Robinson Bill, S. 4164. The aim of the bill is sufficiently clear, even though it contains, perhaps, some lines that might be improved. The bill is an excellent measure, for it places responsibility where it belongs and provides measures that will insure speedy attention to Indian interests. The bill will have its opponents. Its foes will cry out that it is an effort to enthrone the Bureau and give it autocratic powers. Its enemies will say that its friends are the dupes of schemers and "gullible victims" of grafters. There will be a fight, but just quietly study with an X-rayed intellect the powers that foment opposition. The result will not be surprising. Then let us labor for the right. Push the Robinson bill by writing your Congressman. Let us have a reign of law.

¹ Mr. Vincent Natalish, an Apache and a civil engineer, has studied this situation carefully for the Indian Bureau and has reported his findings.

Conditions Among the Indians of the Southwest¹

By MATTHEW SNIFFEN

(Secretary of the Indian Rights Association)

DURING the past ten weeks I have been traveling continuously through the Indian country. My first stop was in Oklahoma, and from there I went to the Navajo country; then down among the Fort Apache Indians, the Mescalero, the San Carlos, the Pimas, the Yumas and the Papagos, and then among some of the Pueblos in the vicinity of Santa Fe.

Of course I would like to tell you something of all the conditions I saw there, but what impressed me more than anything else was the need of firm action to protect the rights of at least fifteen thousand Indians in the States of New Mexico and Arizona.

We all recognize the fact that if the Indian is to advance, one of the best means to help him is that of home building, or home making, and without anything like a permanent home his progress is apt to be very unsatisfactory.

The Dawes Act, which became a law in 1887, had a provision encouraging Indians to settle on the public domain, and what is known as the fourth section guaranteed them the right to take up a homestead. It was only the spring of this year that these rights of the Indians in New Mexico and Arizona were seriously threatened by an amendment that was introduced into the Senate by Mr. Fall of New Mexico, and ably seconded by Senator Smith of Arizona, that in effect, had it become a law, would have wiped out any right that the Indians of those two States had toward taking up a homestead on the public domain. The proposition was vigorously contested by various members of this Society and other friends throughout the country to such an extent that the worst feature of the amendment was defeated and the principal damage done was that none of the funds appropriated for the use of the Department in allotting survey work was to be expended in New Mexico or Arizona. Had the Fall amendment gone through in its original form, not only that part would have become a law, but it would have taken away any right of the government to use any moneys whatever for the protection of the homes of those Indians.

¹An address delivered before the Third Annual Conference at Denver, Colorado.

When the Navajo Reservation was created in 1868 there were eight thousand of those Indians, and the reservation then set apart — although most of it is worthless — was considered not too large for that number of people. As you all know, the Navajos are industrious, and have always been self-supporting, and, unlike the experience of one of the speakers this morning, I have never found that they were such "easy marks." In fact, my experience has been that they knew the value of a dollar, and were always ready to make one, and I think where he uses money to convert into jewelry it is always the Mexican specie, and he knows that he can get a Mexican dollar for about half what one of our dollars is worth.

The Navajos have very rapidly increased. To-day they are close to thirty thousand. Now, with all their herds, the question of grazing was a very serious one with them, and for generations perhaps from eight to ten thousand of those Navajos have been living on what is known as public domain adjacent to the reservation. A short time ago that land was withdrawn from settlement by executive order, and an allotting agent sent down there to locate the Indians with the idea of protecting them. As you know, also, the white man is pressed for range, and he is also pressing the Indian very hard, with the idea of forcing him from the holdings on which he has been living for these generations. The allotments were made tentatively, but the influence of the political element in Arizona was so strong that under previous administrations nothing was done toward their approval, and then with the attack made by the New Mexico and Arizona Senators on the rights of the Navajos, the thing was still held off.

Among the Papagos, who lived south of Tucson and Pima, the condition, if anything, is worse, because the Papagos have, for the most part, really never had anything done for them, and yet they have been always self-supporting. There has been a railroad projected through that section, and it is likely to still further hamper the Indians. The white man is crowding upon him, even though the land is worthless. It seems to many whites that the fact that an Indian is on there makes it something to seek, and the chances are if the white man did go in that section he would not stay there over three days. I have been over part of it, and I know how barren it is, and I must say that any people that can make a living in a country like that certainly deserve every help the government can give them.

One of the most pathetic things I have seen for some time is a petition that was sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs under date of January 10, 1912, by what is known as the Papago Indian

Good Government League, which represents the whole Papago tribe, organized by the progressive Indians, to try to secure the co-operation of the government in putting up day schools and in helping them generally like it has helped other tribes. I would like to read all of it, but time won't permit. There are at least five thousand of those Papagos living on the public domain for whom absolutely nothing has been done. I should qualify that by stating that there certain sections were withdrawn from public settlement by executive order and tentative allotments made to Indians, but as was the case with the Navajos, the political interests prevailed upon the Department to withhold approval of those allotments. The officers of this league state in their petition:

"The allotting work which is going on now is the first work that has ever been done for us by the government. Such work is greatly appreciated by us. The people who are doing the work know that. We have shown our appreciation by helping them when they wanted extra help. We have loaned them teams and wagons when they had need of them. We hauled water for them when they were working in parts where we have nothing but stock water ponds. The water out of these ponds is unfit for human beings to use, but we have been forced to use it all our lives, as we have not any water where we do our dry farming. The wells are far up in the mountains." Then they go on to say:

"We are sadly in need of day schools. We feel we justly deserve to have them. We have been promised day schools ever since the San Xavier Reservation was started; but it is true there is not a single day school in any of the forty-eight villages. We want to become good and useful citizens of our great country, but how are we to become so if the means of securing education is withheld. There is a boarding school at Tucson, which is forty miles off; one boarding school at Phoenix, and one at Riverside. If our children are educated in our villages it will help us to improve our ways of living and help us to live like our white brothers."

Then they give a description of the country and the various villages, and then they say:

"We Papagos are willing to advance and live like white people, but how are we going to do it when we have no schools? A few of our children, have attended a few of the various boarding schools in the country. Some that have gone East have come back sick with consumption, and they don't live long among us.' * * *"

I might state that I have never made a trip where the influence of the returned student was so strong as in the Papago country.

They look up to the returned students, and seem to value their education and want to learn the white man's ways. Then they say :

"None of the school inspectors have gotten any further than the San Xavier Reservation. If your honor desires to send an inspector, we will be glad to show him around the country. There will be no use for anybody to come if he has to hurry off to some other place. It will take a month to look over the country carefully. We will be very glad to help anybody you may send out."

I think we all agree that people who have such stuff in them deserve to be helped, and that there is nothing we ought to leave undone to see that the Papagos do get a fair show. We can look for further efforts on the part of the Senators from New Mexico and Arizona to oppose any project that comes up for bettering the condition, not only of the Papagos, but of the Navajos.

Among other things, the Papagos have sixteen hundred children for whom there are no school facilities. They recognize the value of education and the necessity for it, and that is one reason why they have asked for these day schools that have been promised them ever since they went down there to live.

There is another point in the Indian country that ought to be kept in sight by friends of the Indian, and that is the Mescalero Reservation of New Mexico. It is true that there are not a great many Apaches on the reservation at this time, and from the white man's point of view that seems to be a large amount of country for the use of these Indians. I have been over a considerable portion of it, and I know that there is very little of the land that is valuable for agriculture. You can find small tracts of ten and fifteen acres here and there, but the bulk of the country is solely adapted for grazing. Now that is a very valuable asset, and yet, instead of using it for the Indians' benefit, it has been leased to white stockmen. The day I left, one season's crop of lambs was driven down, and every one of those lambs was bought for \$3.25 a head. Now why have an asset like that and keep the Indians in a position where they are, instead of being independent, absolutely dependent? They have no idea of a permanent home. Most of them live in tents and tepees, and are among the non-progressive Indians with whom I came in contact. They have available timber on that reservation that is estimated to be worth three millions of dollars. If that were sold and the proceeds converted into stock, it would only be a few years before every Indian on that reservation would be absolutely independent.

But last year there was a bill introduced in the Senate, and in the House also, to convert this reservation into a national playground—or a national park—so the people who live in the low lands below there could come up and have it for a pleasure resort. It was also proposed to build a sanitarium on the northwestern corner of the reservation which would include the construction of a road through that portion of the reservation over to the railroad station, a distance of some twelve miles or more. Curiously enough, the sponsor for the bill is the Senator from New Mexico, who has a large ranch, and his line comes right along the reservation line. Of course, he might say he is doing this for the benefit of the Indians, but evidently it will benefit this Senator more than it will the Indians.

These Indians hold that land by executive order, but the Supreme Court has decided that an executive order reservation is just as binding as a treaty reservation, and there would be as much justification for some other Senator to introduce a bill in the Senate creating Senator Falls' ranch, which adjoins the reservation, into a national park as it is to coolly come and say, "This belongs to the Indians, but we will make it a playground for the whites who want to come up here."

There is one thing that I want to remind the members of, and that is the value of developing public opinion. There has been a great deal of misinformation given out, both from Washington and by numerous writers, as to what the real situation is, and on that account it has seemed a little difficult to get the newspapers to pay much attention to Indian affairs; but that is one reason why we should be persistent in our effort. You remember what Secretary Stanton once said to Bishop Whipple when he came down to Washington about some Indian wrongs: "Bishop, why do you come to me? Go to the people. Congress never redresses a wrong until the people demand it." If we will act on that theory I think we can develop a public opinion that will make itself felt in Washington when these matters are pending.

There is another thing we must bear in mind, and that is this: Sometimes when I see various conditions throughout the Indian country and hear different speakers on the subject, it seems to me as though we ourselves have a great deal to learn. It is just like one-half of the Indians did not know how the other half lived. The question is one of development, and we cannot expect the Indian to take a step in a generation or two that has required centuries for the Anglo-Saxon.

The Quaker City Meeting of the Society of American Indians

By ARTHUR C. PARKER

IN THE City of Brotherly Love, on February 14th, the Society of American Indians held its first Quaker City Conference and banquet.

The affair was precipitated so suddenly and its success was so phenomenal that it seemed a splendid response to the question, "Is the Society a living force?" The Philadelphia meeting answered an emphatic "Yes."

Each year our Executive Council holds a midwinter session at its headquarters in Washington. This year, in accord with a plan discussed at Denver, it was found possible to call a general meeting of officers, members and friends. Only two weeks' notice and preparation could be given, and yet in those two weeks all members residing in our Middle Atlantic District were notified. Our object was to carry the results, the message and the spirit of our Denver Conference to the members and friends in the East, and to not only explain our objects, but to have our friends and foes become acquainted with our hopes and aims, for be it known, our foes, all skeptical persons, all critics, all persons of diverse views, find a welcome place in our midst. Ours is a "free platform," and we could never know our errors, attain the greatest usefulness or learn the other side of the story, the other view, unless all men of all opinions were free to come and speak.

In arranging our meeting we had the co-operation and friendship of many earnest friends of the Indian. Our success is not alone ours; it is equally that of those good friends who stand convinced of our integrity and value.

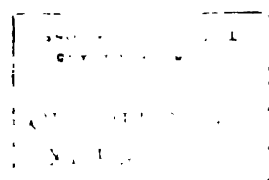
It was at first thought possible to meet under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania, but conflicting dates made it more convenient to accept the invitation of the Philadelphia Academy of Science. This is in full keeping with our aim to reach out and affiliate with the great educational institutions of our country.

The short period of time made it impossible for our Vice-President on Education, Emma Johnson Goulette, to be with us, and Congressman Carter was held in Washington, where he was required for his usual skill in shaping the Indian Appropriation Bill. President Coolidge, Vice-Presidents Kershaw and Dagenett and the Secretary were on hand, however, and also Henry Roe-Cloud, Chair-



A corner of the banquet hall at the Hotel Walton, Philadelphia, during the Quaker City banquet of The Society of American Indians, February 14, 1914.

At the speakers' table, from left to right are Chas. E. Dagegett, W. J. Kershaw, Hon. Cato Sells, Sherman Coolidge, A. C. Parker, Carlos Montezuma, Gen. R. H. Pratt, Hon. Gabe E. Parker.



man of the Advisory Board. The opportunity was a splendid one for getting our ideas and plans before Hon. Cato Sells, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The Commissioner was present as an honored guest, as were also several officials of the Bureau.

The afternoon program in the Academy of Science was limited to three hours, a time altogether too short for the important themes under discussion. Several speakers indeed were unable to find an opportunity for presenting their papers except by title. The invocation was made by Rev. Sherman Coolidge, President of the Society, after which Mr. W. J. Kershaw took the platform as Chairman of the meeting. Mrs. Marie L. Baldwin, a Chippewa lady and an attorney-at-law, spoke on "The Hopes and Aims of the Society." The paper was an excellent presentation, and formed the keynote of the meeting. Mr. Kershaw followed with an address on the "Message of the Denver Conference." Gen. R. H. Pratt read a carefully compiled paper on "The Fathers of the Republic on Indian Transformation and Redemption, with Addendum." General Pratt's paper was a digest of the opinions of the great thinkers in our political history, and forms a real contribution to the history of "the problem." A most remarkable paper, for the thought it contained and the spirit manifested, was the address of Hon. Gabe Parker, the Register of the Treasury, and a citizen of the Choctaw Nation. Mr. Parker's topic was, "The Great End — American Citizenship for the Indian." Two papers were omitted from the program, owing to the absence of the authors. These were "The Ethnologist and the Indian," by Prof. Frank G. Speck of the University of Pennsylvania, and "The Quaker and the Indian," by Prof. R. W. Kelsey of Haverford College.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Hon. Cato Sells, spoke briefly, but his address was marked with such an evident conviction of sincerity and appreciation of his official responsibility that it deeply impressed all his auditors. Judge Sells invited the cooperation of the Society and of all good people in making the administration of Indian affairs an efficient one. He invited suggestions and criticism. Mr. H. B. Peairs, Supervisor of Education, spoke on "Indian Education in Government Schools." Mr. Peairs' thoughtful paper, so full of suggestions, is worthy of more than passing consideration. It is published in the February number of the *Red Man*. Patrick J. Hurley, Attorney for the Choctaw Nation, spoke on the "Five Civilized Tribes" in an impressive and interesting way. Mr. Herbert Welch, representing the Indian Rights Association, spoke briefly of the work of the Association and

its aims. The Association will, for a long time to come, have a most useful sphere.

Considering the fact that after a period of pleasant weather and clear streets, a blizzard had suddenly swept over the East, tying up railroads and blocking street traffic, our attendance was remarkably good. Many of our friends were unable to attend, however, and we received many telegraphic regrets.

Possibly the more pleasant portion of the Philadelphia session was the banquet at the Hotel Walton. The banquet room had a large seating capacity, but long before the date of our meeting every seat was bought, and we were compelled to cancel the advance sale of tickets.

The Hotel Walton is situated a few blocks south of the Broad Street Station, and is one of the best in the city. The room was carefully decorated by an expert, and the tables and menu received the personal oversight of the hotel management. The aim of the committee was to hold a banquet that might be regarded as equal to any in polite society. It was here that the time-tried friends of the Indian, and the Indians who likewise have been tested, both by time and by culture, met as friends working for a common cause — the true freedom of the red race.

Among the guests at the banquet were representatives of the New York City Indian Association, the Y. W. C. A., Hampton Institute, the Philadelphia Academy of Science, the University of the State of New York and the State Museum, the American Museum of Natural History, the Indian Rights Association, the Interior Department and Indian Bureau, Haverford College and various other organizations.

The banquet speakers and subjects were necessarily limited, owing to the lateness of the hour. The list follows: 1. "To Abraham Lincoln," a silent toast; 2. "The Papers Say —," by Mr. John M. Oskison; 3. "A Little Knowledge Is a Dangerous Thing," by Mr. Henry Roe-Cloud; 4. "Lift High Poor Lo," by Mr. Matthew K. Sniffin; 5. "If the Crees Increase, What Should the Ojibway?" by Mr. Alanson Skinner; 6. "Unraveling Red Tape," by Mr. Francis; 7. "Who Plays Ball Now?" by Mr. T. L. St. Germain; 8. The address of the evening, "The Reservation Is Fatal to the Development of Citizenship," by Dr. Carlos Montezuma; 9. "What I Wish to Say Is This," by Commissioner Sells; 10. "The Society of Friends and the Society of American Indians," by Prof. R. W. Kelsey; 11. Conclusion by the toastmaster, President Coolidge, "The New-Found Friendship — The Fundamental Interests of All Races Are One."

The entire evening affair was a brilliant one. The ladies were tastefully gowned in evening dress, and the gentleman carefully groomed in full accord with polite society. The red man from farm or college met on an equal basis the white friend from town and college, and upon a higher basis of friendship and good citizenship than ever before in the history of America. The Philadelphia meeting was a step upward, our horizon is enlarged, our friends strengthened, and our means for good enlarged. A deep impression was made upon all, and as one Indian, a college man, said, "When I see the class of men and women, the white friends whom you bring here, and these earnest kinsmen of my blood, I know that any argument against the Society fails. You have won success because you deserve it."

The Society remembered its absent officers, and dispatched greetings to Mrs. Goulette and to Prof. F. A. McKenzie, who for some time has been ill.

Unfortunately, a register of our attendance was not kept, but among the guests at the banquet were the following:

Miss Caroline Andrus, Mr. and Mrs. Louis Armel, Miss Armel, Mr. Sherman Coolidge, Mr. Driver and guest, Miss Edith M. Dabb, Mr. Charles E. Dagenett, Mr. and Mrs. Francis, Mr. Farr and guest, Mr. P. J. Hurley, Mr. Stansbury Hagar, Mr. Harris, Mr. Haynes, Mr. Robert Hamilton, Mrs. R. B. LaFlesche, Mrs. John Markoe and guest, Dr. Joseph Murphy, Dr. Carlos Montezuma, Mr. and Mrs. Newashe, Mr. John M. Oskison, Mrs. Pennock and two guest, Mr. P. J. Hurley, Mr. Stansbury Hagar, Mr. Harris, Mr. Gabe E. Parker, Mr. Frank Piquette, Miss Randolph, Miss Randolph, Mr. Henry Roe-Cloud, Mrs. W. C. Roe, Mr. Rickert, Mr. Samuel Saunooke, Miss Emery, Mr. T. L. St. Germain, Miss Saunooke, Mr. Alanson B. Skinner, Mr. T. L. Sloan, Mr. Smith, Mr. Weshinawtok and guests, Mr. W. J. Kershaw, Mrs. Kershaw, Mr. Young and two guests, Miss J. Newell Wardle, Mr. Herbert Welsh, the Misses Richards, Mr. James Wheelock, Mrs. Marie L. B. Baldwin, Miss Dora B. McCauley, Mr. and Mrs. Clayberger and guest, Miss Melissa Cornelius and guest, Miss Lathers and guest, General R. H. Pratt and two guests, Mr. Matthew K. Sniffin, Commissioner Cato Sells, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Shotridge and guests, Mr. and Mrs. Nash, Miss Selkirk and Amos One Road.

The local meeting in Philadelphia in no way resembled a National Conference nor did it have any of the functions of the yearly meeting. Its aim was only a better acquaintance and for the help of the Executive Council.

The Great End: American Citizenship for the Indian¹

By GABE E. PARKER

MR. CHAIRMAN, members of the Society of American Indians, ladies and gentlemen: It affords me pleasure to be here on this occasion and to express my approval of the purposes of this Society. It is proper and important for the American Indians to have an organization of this character. Those Indians and our white friends who have given unselfishly of their time and effort to this cause, deserve the credit and co-operation of all Indians and their friends. A Society whose foundation is the principle of mutual helpfulness, and whose activities are in the interest of education and progress, has the splendid opportunity to render valuable service.

I have been requested to speak to you on the subject, "The Great End: American Citizenship for the Indian." The American Indian has occupied a unique position in the life of this nation. He has been independent in his tribal relations, yet dependent upon the government which has surrounded him. He has been regarded as a sovereign, yet treated as a ward. He has been a part of the government, yet not a member of it. He has been subject to the laws of the land, yet often without protection under them, and without the right to participate in their enactment. He has been expected to conform to the ways of civilized life, yet he has been restrained to his tribal relations. Notwithstanding these paradoxical relations, he has made excellent progress; but much remains to be done by him and by the government before the proper relation shall be obtained.

When the Government of the United States confers its citizenship upon an individual, the greatest opportunities and responsibilities of the world are thereby conferred. The opportunities for individual effort and progress are nowhere surpassed, and the responsibilities for preserving, developing and perpetuating our institutions of freedom constitute an infinite honor and a life of devoted service. This government is founded upon the aspirations of Plymouth Rock, inspired by the Declaration of 1776, and preserved by the valor of Yorktown. Truly, this is the "land of the free and the home of the brave." Certainly every resident of such a

¹ A paper read before the Philadelphia local meeting of the Society of American Indians, February, 14, 1914.

land should desire to be its citizen, and surely such a land will not deny the worthy.

Statistics show approximately 304,640 Indians by blood in the United States. Of this number 166,311 are citizens and 138,329 are still without the privileges of citizenship. Nearly one-half the Indians of the United States are not its citizens. The law provides that Indians who sever their tribal relations and adopt the habits and customs of civilized life, those who select allotments, and those who receive patents in fee, thereby become citizens of the United States. It is therefore evident that nearly half our Indians still maintain tribal relations, have not selected allotments, or have not received patents in fee. Since these requirements of law must be met before there can be citizenship for the Indian, the plain duty of all concerned is to remove as rapidly as possible these barriers to the Indian's real chance for progress and independence.

However reluctant the Indian may be to depart from his tribal relations and customs, and with due regard for the fancies of the sentimentalist who believes he is the Indian's best friend, the irresistible fact remains that tribal relations must be abandoned and the responsibilities of American citizenship must be assumed before the Indian can become a self-supporting and contributing factor in this nation.

Standards of life are the result of changes; likewise, changes are often the result of standards. What we are to-day is not what we were yesterday. Everywhere we find progression or retrogression, integration or disintegration. The philosophy of life is the philosophy of change. The important consideration, then, is that out of inevitable change shall come the best and widest sphere of life. How may there be the best? And how may we know it? These are the great questions of life, and probably will not be answered this side of the Great Beyond. But our constant attempts to answer them furnish the means of our advancement and the hope of our reward. The individual or the nation who embodies the best answers to these questions has made the greatest advancement and enjoys the greatest rewards. Each succeeding generation ought to be wiser and better than its predecessor, because it has the successes of the past to impel, the mistakes to deter and the strength to guide.

Upon the foundation of the past rests the condition of the Indian of the present. With few exceptions, a magnificent foundation; with many regrets, and incommensurate consummation. It is true that the self-sacrificing missionary has done much to banish superstition and to inculcate the Gospel of eternal life; that education and

environment have joined hands to impart a knowledge of a common language and the skill to earn a living under new conditions, and that our government has exercised a good-intentioned, paternal guardianship. Still, the voice of the past cries out for the thousands who have perished — reminds us that progress has been too slow, and implores us to regard the Indian as a man, with the capabilities and the possibilities of a man.

At the beginning every one must have seen that the inevitable, final result had to be either extermination or assimilation, and the basis of any policy should have been laid accordingly, else the policy would be out of harmony with the inevitable, and a failure in the end. Certainly no one thought of extermination, hence assimilation should have been the basis, and every possible provision made for the Indian to grow into that kind of citizenship to be prescribed and developed in these United States. Every inducement to break away from tribal, clannish relations, to learn the English language, to depend upon individual effort for maintenance — in short, to live as and like the white people themselves propose to live — should be offered, and all laws, rules and regulations should make it possible for the Indian to be localized individually, to have possession of himself, with the fewest possible restrictions on his initiative, ingenuity and disposition to accommodate himself to the white man's ways.

While the Indian of to-day shows great progress toward thinking and living in the substance of this civilization, still this progress is too often defective in the one vital essential of self-reliance. This is not the Indian's fault, neither from heredity nor from choice. The fundamental fault lies in the construction of the Indian's ownership of land as being only the "right of occupancy." Such a title, if indeed it can be called a real title, has had neither stability nor security; certainly it has not encouraged individual sagacity or industry; in fact, it has been a community restriction which has now passed to the individual where allotments have been made. It is hard to get away from the idea that the Indian has only the "right of occupancy," for, indeed, a restricted individual title is nothing more nor less. We must get away from this idea if the Indian is to make real progress. Give the Indian a real title to some land, with real privileges and responsibilities of his own. Give him what he has been led to believe he will receive in lands and moneys, with restrictions only on those who are determined by personal investigation to be incompetent, those restrictions to be the fewest possible. There is probably no surer or quicker way to develop self-reliance and individual effort than by making a man earn his own support,

and there is probably no surer or quicker way to extinguish these essential qualities than by giving him something for no effort on his part. Herein lies the difference between success and failure. The moving, ration and expectant systems must cease before individual effort and progress will begin. Quit doing so much for the Indian; permit and require him to do more for himself; give him a real chance. Regard the Indian as a man; think more of his personal development, and remember that competency is the result of performance, not of enunciation. Thereby will the Indian be prepared for American citizenship.



Letting the Indian Know

Time after time Indians make requests, base actions, ask privileges, or strongly assert certain principles, only to discover after great cost in time and money that they are wrong and that their wishes are denied. Some agency ruling or order issued from the Indian Office long since had overturned their hope. Suffering results, confusion results, and the Indian comes more and more to believe that government means oppression and tyranny. On the other hand the citizen comes to believe that the Indian is a chronic malcontent. Who is at fault?

If, indeed, it is true that the Indian Bureau wishes to protect the Indian justly and to make him a happy, useful being, then it would seem that infinite pains and patience would be used to explain carefully and clearly every ruling or order affecting the interests of an Indian community. This would not only be a mercy but a simple application of rudimentary justice. As matters have stood many times, however, *the Indian has been the last person in all the world to be given an understanding of the orders or rulings that most vitally affected his life, property and happiness.* No one seems to have considered that the Indians needed to know anything about "Washington orders." This is not only unmerciful but little short of criminal. No Indian should be considered "so much of an animal" or "so ignorant" that his interests should be affected without his knowledge. Councils should be called, circulars should be distributed and every means should be taken to make an understanding possible. The new administration must think of these things if mistakes are to be avoided and the Indians are to be thought of as primary. Notify the Superintendent some time, of course, but first of all let the individual Indians know what is being done to them, O powers that issue mandates. Or shall it continue to be systems first and men last?

Educating the White Man Up to the Indian¹

By FRANK G. SPECK, of the University of Pennsylvania

IN THE past year or so I have written several articles for the *Southern Workman* and the *Red Man*², expressing some views on Indian assimilation from the point of view held by field ethnologists who live largely among the Indians, and also by real Indians who understand the relative position of their own culture as a whole to that of the Europeans who are supplanting them in their own country. Some of these articles attracted enough attention to seem to justify me in presenting some additional points. The spirit of my papers is directed against the opinions of administrators and educational enthusiasts whose voices are so loud in gatherings where plans are laid and policies discussed concerning the Indian, but who know little or nothing of the quality and spirit of Indian institutions. The spirit of their discussions, both in print and on the platform, is much too deprecatory to the Indian. A man who knows only one side of a subject involving the destiny of a race and who wants to speak, chiefly because he is the exponent of a certain policy, and who does not really understand what this policy will ultimately lead to, had better remain silent until he has lived with and studied the people with whom he desires to experiment. Should we not demand that people who are to take serious parts in Indian affairs be people who really know the Indians by contact, and not those who merely know about them. Where, indeed, would be the difficulty in the Indian problem if the administrators were all men who had spent some part of their lives living sympathetically with the Indians and learning their languages, philosophy and history. The laughable complaints against the "degraded condition of savages dwelling in tents!" etc., would not be heard so frequently from the speaker's platform, because the student finds when first studying ethnology that the prehistoric cultures of the Americans are of extreme antiquity, fraught with complexities both in material and mental life. Moreover, these show parallels in some respects to the corresponding stages in Old World history. This knowledge, then, at first arouses feelings of

¹A paper prepared for the Philadelphia local meeting of the Society of American Indians, February 14, 1914.

²*Southern Workman*, Hampton Institute, Va., "Conservation for the Indian," June, 1912; also *ibid.*, January, 1914, "Basis of Indian Ownership of Land and Game;" also *Red Man*, Carlisle, Pa., June, 1913, and September, 1913. 22501

respect. Next, with deeper investigations into the wealth of mythological lore, ceremonial life, and industrial adaptations to all sorts of native environments, the feeling of wonder and respect grows into admiration. Next in the mind of the student comes the reactionary sentiment, where comparison between these aboriginal cultures and our own modern and complex one, with all its faults and weak places, as well as virtues, leads to the conviction that questions of superiority in culture, represented, of course, by beauty of language, wealth of expression, poetry, music, art, philosophy and industries, is largely a question of preference. It is only when one has come broad-mindedly to a point where he can realize the good underlying the spirit of all types of culture that he can be considered rational and impartial in judging race qualities without any egotism. So with the Indian. We admire him for his bravery and obstinacy in defending his country against an alien invader in the old days. We are beginning to learn that more massacres were perpetrated by our own frontiersmen against him than he perpetrated against us. We are learning more of his magnanimity, now that the fighting days are over and he has submitted to a relentless nation of those who claim to be his superiors. We admire him for his native ideas of hospitality, his racial pride, his original moral purity, his manly bearing, his athletic prowess, his knowledge of nature, his complex social and rich ceremonial life, in some respects no cruder or more barbarous than the dogmas and practices of some of our Christian sects. We admire his love of truth, his respect for womankind. In addition, we envy the whole race for its wonderful art techniques, designs and symbolism, its picturesque garb, its perfection of devices for hunting, fishing and transportation, and its achievements in plant domestication. This summary, exaggerated as it may seem to some, is indeed only a partial one. Since I cannot attempt to teach ethnology in a short article, I shall have to assume some education in ethnology among my readers.

Can we now arraign the founders of these aboriginal cultures with savagery when, indeed, the worst thing they did was to become desperately vengeful toward the white people who at first tried to drive them by force from their homes, and now, it seems to me, judging by the sentiments expressed by some writers, are trying to disperse and disband them by overwhelming their leaders with the pseudo-logical prant of self-disintegration?

If we believe in this category of native virtues, and it is only too true, of course, as everybody who knows the Indians realizes, then are we to try to emasculate them and educate them out of the

institutions and traits that we admire them for? By what authority are we called upon to deculturate them, to transform them completely to the likeness of ourselves? It can only be out of self-pride in our own institutions which would lead us to ask any other race considering itself, not without reason, to be as good as we are, to lay itself down and be stripped bare of its own, and be reclothed with our own ways? It is a question whether any self-respecting Indian who knows his own language and institutions would entirely consent to this method. Education is not deculturation — education should be constructive, using as a basis the spirit of tribal life which every race possesses for its own strengthening.

Let us consider the question of native languages. We might as well prate to the Germans or the French people in America about dropping their own languages in their homes, and then send them to school to re-acquire, by the present imperfect means of teaching languages in our schools, the advantages of their own languages, and even Latin and Greek. Even further, what would it sound like if our spirit of self-conceit were so strong as to induce us to urge the Swiss, the German or Italian peasants to conform to the superiority of our own language and ways? There are, fortunately, some white people who know that the different Indian languages, included in over fifty different stocks in North America, are much more beautiful in grammatical structure and richer than many of the European languages. Will these people permit native idioms to be lost as the result of misdirected educational enthusiasm? On the contrary, there are more and more people, whose range of knowledge is broadening, coming to realize the wealth of literature in Indian tongues to be drawn upon in the future. When it comes to talking about serving this country, cannot the Indian serve himself and the country best by standing upon his own institutions, with, of course, modifications which are unavoidable nowadays, as the exponent of out-door life, the ideal of the Boy Scouts movement, interpreter of nature, the guide in the out-door world, the fisherman, forester, fire and game warden, rancher, farmer and herder, with all that goes with these clean, natural pursuits, rather than by becoming a sweat-shop, factory or office slave in our already overcrowded industrial sphere? The Indians should, of course, preferably marry within their own race and raise their children in a full knowledge of their respective dialects, traditions and institutions. Fortunately, many of them do not need to be told this. The most educated, as well as the least educated of them, do it in spite of all the preaching and legislation in the world. This is because they realize the pitiful state of the

native who can neither speak his own language nor answer questions on his own tribal customs. Such a man is almost an outcast among cultured and intelligent white people because he is holding on to a mere bubble of racial pride. Most educated and far-sighted people of both races realize that if the native loses entirely his individuality, then he becomes debased to the colorless social stratum of the other dark-skinned people in our country. An Indian with no native individuality is to the public at large merely a dark-skinned man who passes casually in the busy work-a-day American world, most unfortunately, as either a mulatto, Japanese, Chinaman, Italian or Syrian. Moreover, the shame of it is that when thoroughly deculturated the Indians often lose their pride enough to mingle and marry with their social inferiors among certain classes of negroes or whites.

Now, how can we, in truth and honesty with ourselves and our friends, the Indians, ask them to lower themselves socially to the status of our heterogeneous dark-skinned masses? The thing which holds the Indian up in his Indian-ness, so to speak. Let us then foster this in him for his own salvation and preservation as one of the finest types of mankind. Do not thoughtlessly take away what ages of natural independent development have given him. But in the process of education, let us stimulate him to keep what makes him his own distinctive self, and then add and develop what he can get of good from the white man. The white man who knows the Indian loves him for his being an Indian, not for becoming apishly made over into a white man. I must be excused for not referring to what the white people, who only know the native through bloody stories or the moving-picture shows, may think of him. What the ethnologist is doing is to live with and learn from the native; to make a true record of his life and culture. These records cannot fail to educate the white people who study such works, and who, indeed, should study such works, if they are going to take any part in administration, up to an appreciation of the Indian on the inside. The ethnologist never takes his stand against native culture in which he sees so much good, by contact, that he objects to educating the Indian down to the level of the average community white man. There are many sides to this question which will arise in the minds of the reader, according to how much or how little he knows of the relative status of the Indian and the nondescript white man of the ranch, the mine, the shop, the factory, the farm, the business world, or the profession; of him in the gutter and him in the mansion. Is Indian conservatism to be branded as reversionism? Let us not

talk nonsense. Are the conservatists to be accused of sentimentalism? Let us not talk like sophomores or school girls. Indian conservatism is neither of these. It is very hard-headed, because it will not permit the Indian to be downed, or to be hypodermically injected with civilianism, just because it belongs to the white man and because he is in power. A period of renaissance is at hand for the native Indian, but unless he emphasizes and enforces the maintenance of his native pride and institutions throughout, as far as changing conditions of life and environment will permit, he will decline until he will be only a memory in the next few generations. We who are the associates of the old Indians, who know something of their inner philosophy of life, language and culture, love them for these very things, and with our scholastic education and field training as a balancer to and a check upon false conceptions of what education should be, we insist upon their inherent right to exist in their own name as long as they have any pride in it.

As to tribal disintegration, here is another matter of misdirection. Anybody who advocates total tribal disintegration is manifestly advocating race murder. For the moment that any band of Indians gives up at least some semblance to tribal organization, whether it be an actual tribal government or merely even an incorporated body bearing a tribal name, on a par, for instance, with some fraternal or social orders, at that moment it seals its own fate. As each tribe or group of tribes is a unit, so they must hold out, or else fade away. And what tribe wants to fade away? Might as well some powerful foreign nation establish propagandist centers in the States, trying to convert us to some foreign idea that we should dissolve our national feelings for the sake of assimilating its higher life. To be candid, the Indian tribes have as much a right to their native patriotism as a British subject has to his or the American to his own. Ought we not to encourage the Indian in his own patriotism if we admire it in ourselves?

Of course, it is necessary for the Indians to build themselves up by all possible means in education and adaptation, basing their growth in this land, which is their own, upon their own splendid abilities and judgment, each tribe gradually selecting its own process along the line of least resistance in accordance with, and framed in, its own historic past. Under this process of upbuilding under the tribal sense of pride in lineage and institutions the minor details as to what these may include will take care of themselves automatically, because all evolution in culture, as well as in life, takes care of its own details of adjustment.

***The Reservation is Fatal to the Development of Good Citizenship*¹**

By CARLOS MONTEZUMA, M.D.

NO MORE instructive study for the American public can be found than in the following pathetic incident, which is related as authentic, when several years ago there was a band of Indian chiefs visiting Washington.

As a guide was pointing out to the members of the tribe the different paintings of historical interest in the rotunda of the capitol, he directed their attention to the representation over the east entrance, which presented "The Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock," with an Indian in the foreground holding out an ear of corn to the strangers. All passed the picture without a comment, save one old chief, who, giving a characteristic Indian grunt, sagely remarked:

"Indian gives pale face corn."

When the representation of "Penn's Treaty with the Indians," which is over the door leading into the Senate, was pointed out to the chiefs, the same chief grunted again and remarked:

"Indian gives pale face land."

As the guide was concluding his remarks after pointing out the representation of "Pocahontas Saving the Life of Captain Smith," the chief grunted and remarked:

"Indian saves pale face's life."

Then the guide pointed out the representation of the "Young American in the West," with a dead Indian at his feet, which is over the west door leading into the Senate. Here the old chief stopped, heaved a sigh, and in tones deep with pathos, said:

"After all, pale face kills Indian."

That eloquent Christian preacher, the Rev. Wendell Phillips, once said:

"The Indian race is the one which the people of the United States have most to dread at the Judgment Bar of Almighty God."

How often have I been asked by Indian missionaries: "Doctor, why don't you go back to your people, and there work for them?" "Thank you," I would answer, "but I believe I can do more good for my people by being their voice in civilization and their missionary in Chicago."

¹ An address delivered before the Philadelphia local meeting of the Society of American Indians, February 14, 1914.

Back, back; go back to your people! has echoed and re-echoed from generation to generation; and the poor, cheated, robbed and imprisoned Indian human beings are back in everything.

America stands pre-eminent for the unity of races and freedom of the individual. But with the Indian it has been established that the real problems are *methods* and *systems*, and not the man himself.

The difficulties we find in our efforts to bring out the Indian as a man and a citizen among men are of our *own* creation. History, or even our own experience and common sense, ought to have shown us years ago that if we really wanted to civilize and assimilate the Indians, we were pursuing a course that must necessarily frustrate our designs.

The first great barrier to be removed in all work of assimilating and unifying our diverse population is the barrier of difference in languages.

The process of giving the American language to foreigners who are willing to disperse among us is so simple and effective that it gives us no concern — scarcely, in fact, attracts attention.

No special school is needed, no special teacher or organized effort. It is self-operative. Is there not a lesson in this? We organize and force upon the Indian through our sustaining of the tribal relation by the congesting system of Indian reservations a condition calculated to not only discourage but to entirely prevent his acquiring the American language except in the impractical, homeopathic way we choose to dispense it to him by expensive, theoretical schools established in his communities.

The foreigner, while getting the language practically through the freedom of association, continues to obey also the decree of the Almighty: "In the sweat of his face shall man eat bread." All the other vital principles of the American accommodates and unifies itself with them. On the contrary, our Indian schools on the reservations are weak and inefficient because lacking in the essential elements of practical experience, association and competition, and not calculated to lift the Indian into the courage and ability to struggle and compete, but tend rather to create a fear of these conditions and make him shrink from the very competition necessary to enable him to reach his place as an independent man and citizen.

We make a great pretense of helping, and do give inordinate sums of money in purchase of land, and for their support, their schools, for their agricultural and other necessary development

in preparation for citizenship, but does it accomplish the purpose? There is not an Indian tribe, community or even individual Indian, that has been favored with anything like such opportunities to acquire the true spirit of American life as are at once fully and continually accorded to the foreign emigrant.

Inviting the Indian to always look to the government for support, instead of continuing to rely upon his own right arm, is one of the great evils of the system. Be the sum ever so small, the receiving of an annuity is to them, as they are now, the greatest of all events of the year.

The small number of Indians in the United States — not enough in number to make a West Side of Chicago — this small number, especially the Indian children, should have their privileges beyond the tribe, the privilege of seeing and knowing what the United States is. Reservations for Indians means the reservation from experiences and from opportunities for education and betterment in industry. The policy is wrong. There should be willingness, helpfulness, invitation and push on our part to get the Indians, and especially the children, out into the active life of the nation. Indians should be helped less from Washington — helped less in tribal education, and helped *more* to come into actual relations with our general industrial and educational systems.

We do not hesitate to take a million foreigners into our country in one year, and at once disperse and citizenize them. We do not hesitate to invite and persuade boys and girls of all countries to abandon their homes and languages and come here to become a very part of our population. Why not urge and insist upon the Indians to come out where there is encouragement and help to rise, and thus make a beginning for these people to escape from their reservation prisons?

We compelled the negro, and invited Huns and Italians and the Irish and everyone else to come and live with us. Why not invite the Indians, and give them the same chance, and so find out what they can do? There are only 300,000 Indians outside of Alaska. If, instead of forcibly holding them "together on reservations and in tribes," our every influence helped them to chances away from the reservations, then their interests and ours would soon be a common one, and that would be the end.

The contact of peoples is the best of all education. I could give you unlimited instances where Indians by association with other people became in all respects like them — in thought, speech and deed.

Under democratic principles we have established the public school system, where people of all races may become unified in every way and loyal to the government. We do not gather the people of one nation into schools by themselves and the people of another nation into other schools by themselves, but we invite the youth of all people into all schools. We shall not succeed in Americanizing the Indian unless we take him in in exactly the same way.

Purely Indian schools say to the Indian :

" You are Indians, and must remain Indians ; you are not of the nation, and cannot become of the nation. We do not want you to be of the nation."

It is a great mistake to think that the Indian is born an inevitable savage. He is born a blank, like all the rest of us. Left in his primitive surroundings, he grows to possess a primitive language, superstition and life. We, surrounded by civilization, grow to possess a civilized language, life and purpose. Transfer the pale face infant to savage surroundings, and he will grow to possess a savage language, superstition and habit. Transfer the pappoose to the surroundings of civilization, and he will grow to possess a civilized language and habit.

These results have been established over and over again beyond all question, and it is also well established that those advanced in life, even to maturity, of either class, lose the already acquired qualities belonging to the side of their birth and gradually take on those of the side to which they have been transferred.

No evidence is wanting to show that the Indian can not become a capable and willing factor in our industries if he has the chance.

Indian schools must of necessity remain for a time ; but the highest purpose of *all* Indian schools ought to be only to prepare the young Indian to enter the *public* and *other* schools of the country, and immediately to be so prepared for his own good and the good of the country ; he should be advanced into these other schools, there to temper, test and stimulate his brains and muscles into the capacity he needs for his struggle to secure the good things of life in competition with us.

An examination shows that no Indians within the limits of the United States have acquired any sort of capacity to meet and cope with the pale faces in civilized pursuits who did not gain that ability by going among them and out from the reservations ; and that *many have* gained this ability by so going out. Theorizing or idealizing citizenship into a people is an impossible operation.

What a farce it would be to attempt to teach American citizenship to the negroes in Africa. They could not understand it; and if they did, in the midst of such contrary influences, they could make very little use of it. Neither can the Indians understand or use American citizenship theoretically taught to them on Indian reservations. *They must get into the swim of American citizenship.* They must feel the touch of it day after day, until they become saturated with the spirit of it, and thus become equal to it.

And everywhere is the truth proclaimed, that would you rise, would you grow, would you advance, would you realize the possibilities within your grasp, then out with you; Mongolian, out with you; African, out with you; Caucasian, out with you; aboriginal Americans, or so-called Indians, into the great world, where everybody meets everybody from every nation and country; for all the earth is man's habitation — on land and on sea.

Some years ago, in the Press Club of Chicago, the late deceased Stanley Waterloo approached me and said: "Dr. Montezuma, at the time of your capture I was living in California, and your people were bloodthirsty savages. They were devils. Annihilation was the best thing for them. Between the Indian and myself there was a fathomless chasm." He took my hand, and looked into my face, and continued: "We are in this same room; you see me and I see you. You understand what I say to you, and I understand what you say to me. I know you and you know me. Am I right?" he asked. I replied that he was right. Gripping my hand firmer and with sublime emotion he said: "Then, Dr. Montezuma, you have filled up that chasm; we are brothers of one blood."

Originally the Indian Department had one object, and that was to protect and to bring the Indians into civilization, and to do away with itself as soon as possible; but instead of that, you and I know that it has added to and strengthened itself as though it was going to exist forever.

Many foolish things have been introduced into the Indian schools. They study Indian basketry, Indian blanketry, Indian pottery, Indian art, Indian music, and other general Indian industries of a past generation; but where does this help the Indian children into the ways of civilization?

The irrigation projects and the forestry projects have each taken away lands and timber from the Indians in the most scandalous manner.

One can hardly conceive that the Indian Office approves, and in instances encourages, such proceedings; but consider that the Bureau

has become one great machine, with the most extraordinary autocratic powers.

One could scarce imagine in this civilized age that four Indians can be taken, without any charge preferred against them, and, upon an agent's request, locked up in a State jail for weeks, at last to be freed when a prominent attorney requests the sheriff for information as to the cause of the imprisonment. He is told that the sheriff knows of no charge, and the Indians are set free. The Indians claim their only offense was their peaceably expressed refusal to take allotments, and for this, without any formal charge but to make an example of them, an Indian agent causes these four Pima Indians to be lodged in the jail at Phoenix, Arizona, and there kept confined for weeks.

In the eyes of the public the Indian has been, and in most instances today is still, an outlawed creature, with no rights that protect the ordinary human being. Governed by a machine whose agents have most despotic powers, and whose unscrupulous actions in many instances "smell to heaven."

All praise to the many honest, intelligent and hard-working agents in the Indian Bureau, but God deliver us from the knaves that disgrace and corrupt its service.



Learn to Accumulate a Surplus

Every man must learn to make more than he can use, and to produce on his farm more than he needs to eat for the time being. The laborer must learn to lay aside a certain amount of money — *for future use*. There is nothing more pitiful than a hand-to-mouth existence. Accumulate a surplus and that surplus will give you power. The Indian must learn this lesson and by his thrift store up his wealth for future use. He must not be content with things that last for a short time; he must not be content with simply living his life as easily as possible. He must improve his lands, build good houses, leave goods and money for his children. All great nations leave for their children the results of their thrift. By constantly storing up energy, knowledge, and conserving lands and fortunes men and nations become great and leave for their descendants a foundation for still greater endeavor. My Indian brother, what have you stored away for a rainy day? What have you personally added to the value of the world?

Higher Education in Public Schools and Colleges for the Indian

By BERTRAM BLUESKY (Seneca)

THE attending of public schools and colleges by the Indian is one radical solution to the Indian problem. In a few sections of the country the college-bred Indian is already appearing on the horizon of public affairs. A few more years of unceasing effort to educate the Indian wards of the government in the public schools and colleges will gradually lift the Indian race from its former state into a useful and productive race.

If once the Indian race gets a firm foothold in the web of the nation's life, no force will ever deprive it of its lofty elevation. At this age of the race's life the powers that are so noticeable in the Anglo-Saxon race, or other races whose contributions to the country's welfare are marked well, are yet undeveloped. Early history speaks of the Indian's powers of resistance and combination. When the Indian was overcome by a stronger race in the struggles for supremacy these powers were reduced to a latent state and overshadowed by the introduction of the forces of Eastern civilization. These latent powers are now being awakened to development, and are being fused with those forces which are contributing most to American progress to-day.

To the government is due much credit for raising a few members of the Indian race as producing factors in the industrial world. It has done it through Indian school methods of instruction in art and industry. Its tactics in accustoming the young generations of the Indian race to those civilizing influences of an educated race are solely modern. An even wiser method of transforming the Indian race into self-supporting people could have been instituted when it undertook the problem of training young Indians into useful, respected and competent workmen.

Over thirty years ago industrial education was instituted for the Indian. It was a good policy to begin with, and is yet effective. Industrial education will always continue to be one of the rapid solutions to the Indian problem. Portions of the Indian race will always find favor in industrial education, but it is not enough. There must be more than industrial training in Indian schools.

The time has now arrived when the Indian must also seek the higher education in our high schools and colleges. Those members

of the Indian race who have sought for the higher enlightenment of education in public schools and colleges, and who have placed themselves into positions of marked character, have proven that if a few individuals of the race can attain distinction as progressive men among progressive men, more of the race can follow the same paths and reach similar goals. The eyes of the whole nation of late have begun to be centered upon the college-bred Indian, and, to its wonderment, he seems to be weaving himself successfully and modestly into the fabric of the nation.

With a fusion of Indian youths into public schools and colleges of the country the race would continually be educated and trained out of its tribal past into an understanding of useful American life.

Evidence is proving that the learning of trades has contributed a great part toward elevating a good fraction of the race to the industrial class of producers. But to compete in the more complex and hurly-burly life which characterizes American civilization, the Indian race must be educated in science, art and literature as well. Science will develop the Indian's faculty of more abstract reasoning; art will improve his aesthetic nature; literature will make him a master of the English language.

When a fifth part of the Indian race throughout the country has attained a public school or college education the solution of the Indian problem will take on greater rapidity. For it is then that the rest of the race will be affected by the refinement and culture of the more well-to-do and disciplined members of the race. This wave of advance toward seeking the lights of education must have its initiation through the agency of the more educated class of the Indian race, whose duty must be to champion the cause of higher education in the public schools and colleges by stirring and persistent addresses and heart-to-heart conversations with the lesser inclined and lesser educated and more conservative members of the race.

When a few members of the Indian race have come to realize the value of a high school and college education in connection with life, and drawn themselves toward it, their transformation from the status of a consumer to a producer of the wealth of the nation will at once begin. Their conservative ideas and notions will be overcome by a desire for newer and better things of life, and powers, so long latent, will once more appear vigorously striving with competitive forces, so imperative in the race for life.

Fredonia Normal School, Fredonia, N. Y.



A modern Indian delegation conferring with the Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Standing, left to right: Mrs. Marie L. Baldwin, Chippewa, Clerk, Indian Office, Chas. E. Dagenett, Peoria, U. S. Supervisor, Indian Employment, Francis L. Pasche, Omaha, Ethnologist, W. J. Kershaw, Menominee, Attorney-at-Law, Rev. Shuman, Council Bluffs, President, The Society of American Indians, Hon. E. B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Thos. L. Sloan, Omaha, Attorney-at-Law, Harold E. Bruce, Winnebago, Clerk, Indian Office, James W. Plake, Potawatomi, Clerk, Indian Office, Miss Lucile Parker, Choctaw, Clerk, Indian Office, Sitting, left to right: E. H. Johnson, Chickasaw, Governor, Chickasaw Nation, Ruford Bond, Chickasaw, Tribal Attorney, Chickasaw Nation, Hon. Robert L. Owen, Cherokee, U. S. Senator, Hon. Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Hon. Chas. D. Carter, Chickasaw, Member of Congress, Hon. Gabe E. Parker, Choctaw, Register, U. S. Treasury, W. W. Hastings, Cherokee, Tribal Attorney, Cherokee Nation. Center, sitting: Gabe G. Parker, Choctaw.

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Educated Indians Are Successful

By HENRY KNOCKSOFTWO (Sioux)

EDUCATION is a word that has many different meanings to our Indian race. I received my education by attending public and government schools, but I realize that the greater part of my education was obtained at the Indian schools, especially at the Carlisle Indian School.

At the start, therefore, I wish to say, to clear up in our minds and in the minds of all young Indians, both boys and girls, that it is better for us to be taken away from the reservation, at least for a time, to attend the government schools provided for us, for this means an opportunity to get a good education along many lines. Of course, it will depend largely, then, upon each boy and girl who has this privilege, how much good will result from the time spent away from the reservation.

While many uninformed persons have been accustomed to point out the usefulness of educating the Indian by basing their contention on the more or less popular belief that no amount of education can prevent the Indian from reverting to the barbaric life of his nation, yet in my own district, among my fellow classmates, who have had this opportunity, all are at least self-respecting citizens, and enough members of the race have made good after having a chance to refute that belief to prove that it is an unfair position to take toward the Indian and his education.

It may be true that many of the Indians fail to capitalize the education so generously provided by the government, and even go back, in a degree, to their natural and original state as soon as the school door closes behind them, preferring to hunt, fish and roam the hills rather than to struggle to obtain a footing in the business world. But for that matter, thousands of civilized white men fail to follow up the education and to profit by the advantages it had given them, and thus they also go back to a lower grade of living.

We Indians who have been educated by the government owe a debt of gratitude which can only be paid by putting into practical use all that we thus have been able to learn.

The foundation of my education, as I have before stated, was received at Carlisle Indian School. This great school was founded for the purpose of giving the Indian a practical training, giving him

not only the knowledge of books, but teaching and emphasizing the dignity and nobility of work.

It is the Indian's duty, as well as his privilege, to receive and then use this opportunity of education.



How to Settle the Problem¹

By CHIEF HENRY ROMAN NOSE, Chief of the Cheyennes

NOW, my brothers and sisters, all the different tribes in this town: I am very glad to see you here. It looks like peace. The first thing, you boys and girls, your parents, your people, send you to school. That is the first thing to get knowing about white man's way, and it is true, and you get knowing, you boys and girls, and you are to be a man and woman and come back home to your people, and you sure what you know and you sure what you to do work by white man's way, and second thing now same way; you get up here and you try to do best you can for your people, and your people watch you what you do, and your people want you to help them; you know how, and your people want you to help them — all tribes in the United States. Now, just like this. These two things; these two ways to live in — bad and good. That is so. Not no more. Just two things we live in. This bad great many things, great many ways, many things bad, and this good, it is pretty hard to get into it. It is very heavy. Now as we go the same as your boys and girls, you knowing your educations. You talk English. I know something about six or seven years ago, if I remember it or not, I see. Some great friend give it to me in great big book called Bible. Long time ago when I was at Hampton Institute. So that big book tell all how you, my friend, white men, settle Indian problem. I don't see you follow it, but I believe Sermon on the Mount, it you follow it, settles all troubles men have with one another. So I read long ago, "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets." Now you try follow that rule, everybody, and nobody have trouble.

¹An address delivered before the Denver Conference.

Book News and Book Talk

"The Indian—A History"

The editor is informed by Warren K. Moorehead, Esq., that he has begun work on his proposed publication, "The Indian—a History." Mr. Moorehead served for six years as a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, is a director of the Indian Rights Association, and has been engaged in the study of Indians, past and present, for the past thirty years. He intends to prepare and publish a series of volumes on the Indian along the lines of Francis Parkman's publications, with this difference, that he is treating the Indian primarily, and the white persons will appear in the books only as they have had dealings with Indians. In his first volume he intends to take up the work where Helen Hunt Jackson laid it down (in the 80's), and complete "The Century of Dishonor." While this first book is to be as strong as it is possible to make it, it deals with facts, and we are assured that it is in no sense either sensational or sentimental. It is written in order that the blame for the present pitiable condition of the American Indian as a race may be placed where it properly belongs.

Any members of the Society of American Indians who have specific information as to tribal or other matters of national importance may correspond with Mr. Moorehead, as he will be glad to avail himself of evidence and to make use of information, giving due credit for same. His address is Andover, Massachusetts.

The Making of Colorado

In a recent number of "Life" there was a discussion on the topic, "Why Is Delaware?" This little State of only 300,000 souls is burdened by local, municipal, county and State governments, sends a representative and two senators to Washington. That is a mighty thing for 300,000 people to do.

No one dare ask the *why of Colorado*, whose area is so great that with Delaware tucked in a corner of a county, it could hold New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Colorado is a State of scenic wonders on plain, plateau and towering peak. Mr. Eugene Parsons, of Denver, a prolific writer, yet an accurate one, has written a most interesting book on "The Making of Colorado" (A. Flanagan & Co., Chicago). It contains the whole story, with all the tales of border romance, mining days, settlement and development. Mr. Parsons is particularly fair in his historical judgment, and deals as fairly with the Indians' story as any writer of whom we know.

Mr. Parsons reported our Denver Conference for the Society of Sons of Colorado, and his interesting paper is published in the November, 1913, issue of "The Trail."

"The Making of Colorado" contains some interesting chapters on the cliff-dwelling Indians and the Utes and Arapahoes. The Sand Creek Fight, the Battle of Beecher Island and the trouble with the Utes suggest some of the more thrilling historical episodes handled in the work.

The Indian's Friend

There are many splendid periodicals published by the various Indian schools of the country, most of them supported in some way by or under the supervision of the Indian Bureau, through the Indian school system. Sometime it is our hope to make a detailed review of these many deserving papers. It is our aim in this paragraph, however, to call attention to *The Indian's Friend*, published by the National Indian Association in New York. The *Friend* is an independent paper and not supported by governmental agencies. Its long period of service may be judged when we find that it is now in its twenty-fourth volume. Very often there are special articles of note, but the aim of the periodical seems to be the publication of news matter demonstrating Indian progress and in advocating progressive measures, quoting its motto, "To aid in civilization, teach industry and give religious instruction to the Indians of our country." We wish that more Indians and friends of the Indians would subscribe for *The Indian's Friend*. The cause would be advanced and a splendid organization assisted in its propaganda. The subscription price is but fifty cents a year, which may be sent to the office of publication at 156 Fifth avenue, New York City.

The Word Carrier

Among the papers that circulate among the Sioux, one stands out as a fearless advocate of that which it believes right. *The Word Carrier*, now in the forty-second volume, is edited by Dr. A. L. Riggs, of Santee, Neb. It is a welcome bi-monthly and finds many advocates among the independent thinkers who have the welfare of the Indian at heart. For thirty cents a year any one may secure this unique treasure among normal school publications, devoted as it is to the Indian and his uplift. The editorial pages are fearless and form a great power in "Helping the right, exposing the wrong." *The Word Carrier* has honestly criticized our own Society, and we thank it for its frankness.

The Robinson Indian Commission Bill

The Robinson Bill "to make more efficient Indian administration, and for other purposes," has as its text the following:

Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that there is hereby created an Indian Commission, consisting of three members, the present Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who shall be chairman of said commission, and the title of whose position shall be that of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and he shall receive a salary of \$7,500 per annum; the present Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs shall be the second member of said commission, at a salary of \$5,000 per annum, and the title of his position shall be that of First Assistant Commissioner, and he shall be the acting commissioner during the absence of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs; the third member of said commission shall be an experienced educator with industrial equipment and administrative experience, and the title of his position shall be Assistant Commissioner, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and approval of the Senate, and he shall receive a salary of \$5,000 per annum. The said assistant commissioner shall be the acting commissioner during the absence of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the first assistant commissioner. The said commissioners shall hold office for a period of six years from the approval of this Act, unless sooner removed for cause by the President, and shall be eligible for re-appointment for a like term. Vacancies in said commission shall be filled by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The office of Second Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs is hereby changed to that of chief clerk, and said official shall receive a salary of \$3,000 per annum.

Sec. 2. That there is hereby devolved upon said commission all the authority and administrative and other duties relating to Indian affairs heretofore, herein, or otherwise vested by law in any other official or officials, said authority and duties to be exercised and performed under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the chairman of said commission.

Sec. 3. That the chairman of said commission be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to appoint not to exceed three men at salaries not to exceed \$3,000 each per annum, qualified by legal and sociological training, as well as by acquaintance with Indian affairs and needs, to study the laws governing and the circumstances affect-

ing the various tribes, groups, and classes of Indians in the United States, and the chairman of said commission shall report within one year after the passage of this Act, (a) a determination of the legal status of the Indians of the United States by reservations or tribes; (b) a digest of important decisions in Indian cases, or important cases directly affecting Indian interests; (c) a draft of a codified law covering existing legislation and proposing new or remedial legislation looking toward the future best interests of the Indians under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Sec. 4. That the chairman of said commission shall submit to the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives, on or before the first Monday in December of each year, a detailed report relating to Indian Affairs and accompanied by such recommendations as said commission shall deem proper to submit. Each of said commissioners shall be paid his necessary traveling expenses incurred in the discharge of his duties as a commissioner. There is hereby appropriated out of the Treasury a sufficient sum to pay the salaries of said officials as herein provided.

Sec. 5. That all Acts and parts of Acts in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

The Affirmative Argument

The Robinson Bill should become a law,

(1) Because the proposed Robinson law, if enacted, will place definitely the responsibility of Indian administration in the hands of three officials, under the direction of the Chairman of the Indian Commission, provided in the bill, instead of the present condition which places the responsibility for Indian administration in the hands of a large number of officials who are constantly being changed and who are frequently without definite knowledge of Indian administration or Indian affairs generally.

(2) Under the existing law the authority over Indian affairs is largely divided, with unfortunate administrative results; for example, recommendations are made to the Department by the Commissioner, the Assistant Commissioner, and the Second Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and those recommendations are handled in the Department by the Secretary of the Interior, the First Assistant Secretary of the Interior, the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, the Assistant Attorney-General for the Interior Department, and a number of law clerks and attorneys in the Department. This condition brings about confusion, conflicting authority, non-uniformity of action and long delays before final action is taken.

(3) During the past five years there have been three Secretaries of the Interior, three First Assistant Secretaries of the Interior, three

Assistant Secretaries of the Interior, three Assistant Attorney-Generals for the Interior Department, three Commissioners of Indian Affairs, and three Assistant Commissioners of Indian Affairs. Indian laws, treaties and administration are so complicated that it is impossible for any official to acquire anything like accurate and definite knowledge of these subjects within the present short term of his office. As a result Indian affairs are being administered, directed and controlled by officials without definite and accurate knowledge of the subjects which they handle, and because of the large number of officials who are responsible for the work there is lack of continuity of purpose and policy, resulting in waste of Government funds and poor administration.

(4) The Robinson Bill provides for codifying Indian laws and the compilation of Indian decisions. The present Indian laws are a hopeless maize of technicalities, scattered throughout a large number of appropriation acts and special acts, with the result that but few officials really know what the Indian laws and decisions consist of, and it is impossible for the public to obtain anything like a definite knowledge regarding this subject. The Robinson Bill, if enacted, would bring about uniformity of laws and make accessible the laws and decisions so that they could be available in convenient form for officials in the Indian Service as well as the public at large.

(5) The Robinson Bill, if enacted, would enable the officials charged with the responsibility and duty of Indian administration to remain in office six years, a term sufficiently long to carry out definite policies, and would enable them to produce beneficial results.

(6) The Robinson Bill would result in economy to the Government and would expedite business. The present method of handling Indian business results in long delays before final administrative action is taken. It is estimated that it requires from 15 to 20 per cent. of the time of the clerical force and officials of the Indian Bureau in preparing papers and letters for transmission three blocks away to the Interior Department for administrative action, when they should be acted upon finally and definitely in the Indian Bureau. This useless practice costs the Government thousands of dollars for unnecessary clerical work and results in long delays, confusion in administration and lack of definite responsibility. It is an actual fact that hundreds of cases have been held at the Department for from six months to two years after being submitted by the Indian Bureau with definite recommendations before final action by the Interior Department.

(7) The Robinson Bill would enable Congress to obtain definite and accurate information regarding Indian administration and the

Congress and the President could demand satisfactory results, and if these results could not be obtained they could insist on changes in administrative officials charged with the responsibility of Indian administration.

(8) In short, the Robinson Bill would simplify administration, eliminate useless red tape, make more direct responsibility for satisfactory results, would expedite business, would reduce the cost of Indian administration, would enable the administrative officials of the Indian Bureau to remain in office for a sufficient length of time to become thoroughly familiar with their duties and work out and carry out definite policies, would bring about increased efficiency, would result in less gratuity appropriations for the Indian Service, and would make more direct the control over Indian affairs by the Congress and the President.

(9) The present method of handling Indian administration has resulted in the past in scandal, waste of public funds, and the Indians have been robbed outrageously. They have been the victims of incompetent officials who neglected their interests and even co-operated with white grafters. Notwithstanding Congress has appropriated \$80,000,000 since 1875 for the education of Indians, there are to-day practically 10,000 Indians without school facilities. Notwithstanding Congress has provided from \$8,000,000 to \$12,000,000 annually for a long period of years to enable the Secretary of the Interior to guard and protect the property rights of the Indians, they have been robbed unmercifully of their property and thousands of them are to-day dying in squalor from preventable diseases. It is estimated that the death rate among Indians is three times higher than among whites. It is also estimated that there are more than 50,000 Indians in the United States suffering with trachoma — such a dreadful disease that immigrants coming to the United States, if afflicted in any way with this disease, are prevented from landing here and are returned to their native land. Notwithstanding the 300,000 Indians of the country own an area as large as the New England States and New York combined, and notwithstanding Congress has appropriated large sums of money for farmers and for industrial purposes, the Indians as a result of the past inefficient Indian administration are farming but little of their land and are making use of but little of their natural resources. The Indians of the country own nearly \$100,000,000 worth of timber, yet there are nearly 50,000 Indians who are living on dirt floors and in tents, under sanitary conditions that are a disgrace to Indian administration. It is practically impossible for the Government under the present laws and complex conditions, lack of definite responsibility and

the constant changing of officials, to bring about materially improved conditions in Indian administration. It is believed that if the Robinson Bill is enacted into law these deplorable conditions can be remedied, the Indians of the country made to utilize their natural resources, their health conditions improved, and their property rights protected. Unless there is a change in the present organization of Indian administration it is practically impossible to bring about prosperity and successful conditions among the Indians, and notwithstanding the earnest efforts put forth by the present Indian officials their hard work will result in practical failure unless legislative relief is extended by Congress.



Who Have Been the Consistent Friends?

Since the very beginning of this nation the Indians have had staunch and unselfish friends. To these friends of the white race they owe largely their lives, property and future happiness. It was George Washington who pledged the honor of the United States to the protection and advancement of the native American. Following him have been many others who bravely defended the Indians on the floors of Congress. In later years there were many loyal Quakers, missionaries and citizens. Since the days of the Civil War we have had men like Felix R. Brunot, Herbert Welsh, Bishop Hare, Bishop Whipple, Bishop Walker, Gen. R. H. Pratt, Col. J. S. Lockwood, Henry L. Dawes, Matthew K. Sniffen and others. Each has stood for a particular policy and each has wrought changes. To-day we have Prof. F. A. McKenzie, of Ohio State University, as the exponent of the policy of developing the Indian from the inside. Professor McKenzie gathers his figures, studies them, and from an intimate knowledge of the people themselves, has written with a clearness and a force so definite and so just that many who are blinded by small details fail to see the great breadth of his ideas. We may not forget the earnest women who have given their lives in the service of the Indian — women like Helen H. Jackson and Amelia S. Quinton. Then, there are the many who labored, and who now serve in the schools, the missions and in the service of the government. The Indian is not friendless. We believe that quiet, earnest men like the present Commissioner, Judge Sells, and Assistant Commissioner, E. B. Meritt, will not fail us. Mr. Meritt is a quiet but forceful worker, who has saved for the Indians millions of dollars in money and properties.

The Open Forum

Senator Owen Inspires Confidence

The Godfrey letter published in our last volume, No. 3, contained some alleged references to the court records of Oklahoma, casting a shadow upon the business integrity of Senator Owen. We entitled Mr. Godfrey's remarks, "Does Godfrey Tell the Truth? Some Suggestions for an Oklahoma Investigation." Until now no one has written the editor answering the question or mentioning any investigation. We are therefore pleased to print a letter of denial from some of the officials of the Society of American Indians. The editor would print a letter about himself if he had received one like the offending Godfrey epistle, and then, if it was a falsehood, would answer it as it deserved. Godfrey is accused of being a political tool in the hands of Senator Owen's enemies. Senator Owen is said to have refuted statements of any questionable transactions with Indians, during his last campaign. The citizens of Oklahoma re-elected Mr. Owen, giving him thousands of votes ahead of his party. Our work is not one with personal enmity in mind; it is one that seeks the highest good to the greatest number of American Indians, and, therefore, the good of the country. If Mr. Godfrey wilfully perverted the truth and his political backers were gross enough to stoop to falsifying, it is they who are injured, and not Mr. Owen. The crook, the slanderer, the false witness, the extortionist, are all their own worst enemies, and nothing that they may do to injure others by such methods can equal the harm they do themselves, for there is an immutable law of compensation and re-action.

Pursuant of our claim to a free platform, we publish the letter found below:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 20, 1914.*

Senator ROBERT L. OWEN, *United States Senate:*

DEAR SIR.—We, the undersigned members of the Executive Council of the Society of American Indians, regret the appearance of the Godfrey letter in the last issue of the JOURNAL of the Society attacking your private record. We believe it was inspired by your political enemies, and regard the publication of it in our JOURNAL as an indiscretion, and an injustice to you.

In view of the exalted purpose of our Society to be of constructive benefit to the Indian and society generally, we deplore this incident, and beg to assure you of our continued confidence and respect.

Very respectfully,

SHERMAN COOLIDGE, *President.*

WM. J. KERSHAW, *First Vice-President.*

CHAS. E. DAGENETT, *Second Vice-President.*

Senator Owen, thus, is tendered a humble apology, and the editor is duly rebuked by his superior officials.

Senator Owen evidently believes that we have seriously injured, or attempted to injure, his reputation, for a recent letter concerning the matter states that Mr. Owen has "not the slightest intention of paying any attention whatever in the way of a response to the odious calumny which you were so thoughtless as to give currency. Any self-respecting journal should ascertain, before libeling a public man, the responsibility of the author and the justification of the charge."

Mr. Owen "answered, before the people of Oklahoma, the false statements edited and fathered by this mercenary wretch, and received from Oklahoma an overwhelming vindication. There is but one thing that your journal can do to restore itself to the respect of decent people, and that is to make an unqualified apology."

Good Advice from the Sioux Country

To the Society of American Indians:

Having received a copy of your QUARTERLY JOURNAL, and after a careful consideration of its contents, it compels me to inform the Society of its dues, of deserving gratitude for their plans, and the future outlook of the organization. I believe that it is the only substantial foundation of a system that will be for the betterment of the Indian in general, and that it should be the duty of every individual that possesses a drop of Indian blood to take pride and sufficient interest in it to promote success, as it means our future welfare.

We have been in need of such an organization for many years past, to correct the mistakes and unjust dealings that we often are compelled to take, and I believe that as a people, if we desire to be represented, we must first represent ourselves and form a permanent society, through which we can properly be represented and present our just demands.

Some of the former systems of managing the Indians, with their possessions, such as lands and moneys, have been unjust, and it is such obstacles that hinder our progress and future welfare. The Indian should have his just dues from the government, and the form of obtaining these just dues should be modified or made simple, so that he need not go through a whole string of red tape trying to get it.

We have here on the Pine Ridge Reservation a form for obtaining a patent-in-fee called "non-competent patent." Now these non-competent patents are given to people supposed to be incompetent to manage their own affairs, and this system has been forced upon a good many competent people. I believe this is a disgrace and a shame, both to the imposed and the imposer. It shows that in the years past someone has neglected his duty, and it is the one that is supposed to be our superior and instructor. If he had taken pains and done his duty justly, there would be no need of this system. Such systems as this have an inclination to make the Indians helpless, and to have no faith or confidence in himself. He should be given his dues, and be put out on his own resources, and he would be more apt to make good, for I have noticed in the Indian, that the more confidence that is put in him, the more you can expect of him. And it is therefore that I say that the Society of American Indians has taken the proper step of organizing such an association of American Indians.

I think it is time that we stop this depending on our pale-face friends, and commence depending upon ourselves, as the little motto reads, "Self-help alone gives strength." If we ever expect to be a people with the people, and as strong as our white friends, it is high time we were helping ourselves; and if we help ourselves God will be just and merciful to help us, as He "helps those who help themselves."

There have been former organizations of all sorts, but they have failed to prove that they had the interests of the Indian at heart, and the Indian has suffered loss financially, and has been set back in his progress for the sake of the almighty dollar; and for this reason, I believe, the Indian has not grasped the opportunities that the Society offers in joining the Society. But I hope that it will be properly and openly revealed, so that they may see and understand that it is for their future benefit, and join the Society.

In regard to the Indians as citizens, it seems that the laws are not plain regarding the citizenship of the Indian, and there is much room for argument as to whether they should have a right to vote

and should pay taxes. The question of citizenship of the American Indian has always caused much discussion, and while there have been lots of treaties and laws made affecting their citizenship, with a large per cent of the Indians the question is not definitely settled yet. Many of the tribes, or parts of tribes, have been made citizens by treaty or law, and yet the general law applying to all Indians is so obscure that a number of interpretations may be given to it. I believe, with the assistance of the Society of American Indians, that we would be able to get a definite general law through Congress, stating what Indians were citizens and what were not.

The main thing is to have the matter settled one way or the other, so that the Indians, as well as those having dealings with them, will know for certain "where they are at," as under present conditions the county and State officers are at a loss to know just what authority they have over the Indians, and the Indian does not know whether to go to the superintendent of the reservation or the State authorities with his grievances.

Now you can plainly see that by such incomplete regulations and laws as these that no progress can be expected from the Indian. He should be given a full-fledged citizenship or a definite standard to refer to. We are in need of many such necessities, and the only way to obtain them is to unite as one tribe under the name of the Society of American Indians, and every man to the wheel of this organization will bring our just reward.

Very truly,

EDWARD STOVER.

Pine Ridge Agency, South Dakota,

January 23, 1914.

A Frank, Friendly Letter and a Reply

Dear Mr. Editor:

Your letter of the second of the present month duly at hand, and read with varying feelings. First, I have been undecided about continuing my affiliations with a society that has said, in effect, that all the employees of the Indian Department are dishonest. Under date of April 15 I received a letter from your worthy President, Reverend Sherman Coolidge, asking me to write my views on the subject-matter of the *QUARTERLY JOURNAL*. I answered him under date of April 27, saying, among other things, that I had faith in the Indians, and that I also had faith in the good intentions of the government and in the field force of its employees among the Indians. I will say that I still have this faith, and to receive the condemnation

of the Society, as it was delivered by various speakers in the second annual conference, makes one of those employees feel that he cannot be in strict harmony with the Society. I have been employed in the field work among the Indians for the last six years, two of which have been as a bonded official in charge of this reservation. A field official has a great many real troubles to contend with, and when a membership in the S. A. I. makes one more matter in which strict accord cannot be maintained, then he had better stop any affiliation therewith. I am in harmony with the aim of the Society. I believe that it was organized by men that wanted the welfare of the Indians, but I also believe that it admitted to its membership men who had a very poor record behind them to show that their sole aim in the Society was the uplift of the Indian people. I can form my opinions only from the periodicals, but if they print slanderous things which the parties interested can not, or will not, refute, then it would seem to be a true tale. This feeling, coupled with the wholesale condemnation of the field employees, caused me to determine to sever my relations with the Society. I have done so by not sending my dues nor subscribing for the JOURNAL. I supposed that my failing to come up with the financial part of membership would cause me to be dropped from the rolls of the Society, as it should. This is my grievance against the Society, and my reasons for not considering myself a member at the present time.

Referring to your letter, I will say that I have looked at the matter in a new light. I believe in the work the Society can do, and also believe it will see its errors of the past and avoid them in the future. There are a great many men in the Indian Service who are held there more by a missionary spirit than by the salary which they receive. From a personal standpoint, I will say that I am in the Indian work more because I can see a chance to be of real and lasting benefit to the Indians with whom I come in contact than because of the salary which I receive. Men of no greater ability, in commercial pursuits, are making double the salary which I receive. There are numerous soul-grinding matters which one avoids in commercial life, and which weary one of well doing, if they be frequent enough. On their account, I have seriously considered leaving the service for other employment.

In the last number of THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL I read an article entitled, "Lo, the Poor Indian Agent." I feel that the man who wrote this had a fair knowledge of the situation. However, he says some things therein with which I cannot agree. I believe that the great majority of the agents are honest, and that the great majority

of them are in the Indian work for the same reason that I am — the desire to do good to the Indians. I know the route is difficult and hard; that the agent is “done up in a net” of laws and regulations; that he cannot display any individualism in his work; but I also know that in his relations with the Indians under his charge he can have a great deal of influence. There are some of the Indians who do not agree with him. There are many others who will call him “crooked,” but, in the main, if he is a man worth anything, his influence will count for the uplift of the Indians who come into contact with him. That is where he has a chance to exercise his missionary spirit, and a better incentive cannot be found for any job. I feel that the writer was not entirely just to the men who occupy the positions under discussion, or in giving to the government its due in regard to its intentions toward the Indians.

In conclusion, I will say that I have a sort of creed. It would read somewhat as follows:

“I believe in humanity in general, and in its component parts. I believe that the various races are integral parts of that humanity. I believe in the organizations of humanity's societies, for the uplift of that society. I believe all parts of the body, politic and social, are benefited by what benefits any one part. I believe that the vast majority of humans are honest and conscientious, and that no part of them is better nor worse than the average of the rest. For this reason, society has laws, made to remedy defects, though they may be illogical, hasty, or otherwise unsuited to gain the end sought for, but still prompted by the right spirit. I believe there are exceptions to all laws, and the exceptions where laws are prompted by desire for gain, which would be harmful to mankind, in part or in general, simply prove the rule to be true. I believe in the Indians; I believe in the good intentions of the government toward those Indians; I believe in the body of employees who are spending their lives in rude surroundings for inadequate salaries, in administering the affairs of the Indians under the direction of the government. I believe in all the organizations working for the uplift of the lower strata of society, of whatever nature. They all aim high, make mistakes, are human in their administration, because composed of humans and working for human cause, without clear light, but all prompted by that human attribute of wanting to help in the development of the human race and to see it reach that state of perfection to which it is entitled, and, hence, all are to be commended in their purpose, condemned in their mistakes, but never to be discouraged

from further effort in behalf of the cause which called them into being."

Very respectfully,

OMAR L. BABCOCK.

*Colorado River Indian School,
Parker, Arizona, January 9, 1914.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 23, 1914.

MR. OMAR L. BABCOCK, *Colorado River Agency, Parker, Arizona:*

MY DEAR MR. BABCOCK.—I have read your letter of January 9th, just received, with a great amount of interest, and am constrained to say that I am most profoundly indebted to you for the very frank statement which you have made. I wish that all my friends might express themselves as clearly and with equal evidence of good faith.

For the first time I am aware that an impression may have been created to the effect that employees of the Indian Department by the wholesale were dishonest. I did not get this impression at the Second Conference, notwithstanding what was said. The Society does not necessarily endorse or promulgate the expressions of individual Indians made at a conference. If we restricted them or refused critics to voice their sentiments, you can see that greater dissatisfaction would be created. As a matter of fact, if those who might say good things would be equally active with those who criticise adversely, a better represented opinion might be obtained. During the Third Conference at Denver University I asked from the desk whether or not it was the opinion of the employees of the government present that the Society was hostile to the Indian in that service. The reply from those who were best qualified to answer was that this was not the case, and that they understood perfectly the circumstances that led to criticism. I cannot understand, therefore, how you received the impression that the Society had anything to do with the "wholesale condemnation of field employees." I can only say that it appears that some one has assiduously been spreading this notion.

It appears that the best results can be obtained by discussing our differences openly and with candor, and for that reason we are as willing to give publicity to your views as we are to those who have sometimes criticised the results of the failure of unfortunately situated people. I think most of our friends understand that it is not our intention to discourage or injure the reputation of good men, or to say that the government in its ultimate attempt is not looking

to the real advancement of the Indian. I recognize, as many of my colleagues do, that the position of superintendent or special agent is no light task, and that difficulties beset the incumbent at every turn. If you have no objections, I should like to print your letter in our Open Forum, but shall not do so without asking you upon what terms you wish to be quoted, as superintendent or an individual.

Very respectfully,

ARTHUR C. PARKER,

Secretary-Treasurer.

TREASURER'S REPORT

Summarized from Auditor's Detailed Sheet

Fiscal Year September 30, 1912 - September 30, 1913

Received from membership dues..	\$1,075.00	Printing Journal No. 1.....	\$171.15
Received from donations, cash...	476.93	Advertising.....	10.00
Received from donations, for		Postage.....	191.27
Journal.....	150.00	Essay contest prizes.....	10.00
Received from donations, Denver		Sundries.....	40.49
Association.....	1,000.00		
Received from subscriptions to			<u>\$2,945.09</u>
Journal.....	169.70	Deficit.....	<u>\$2.26</u>
Received from sale of buttons...	71.20		
	<u>\$2,942.83</u>		
DISBURSEMENTS.			
Office rent, Washington, 3 months	\$37.50	OUTSTANDING INDEBTEDNESS, OCT. 1, 1913.	
Salaries.....	792.32	Secretary's salary, five	
Telegrams and express.....	50.76	months, at \$166.66... \$833.30	
Deficit paid, reported by Auditor		Less rebate.....	333.30
for 1911-12.....	54.29		<u>\$500.00</u>
Secretary's salary, on account,		Stenographic services.....	169.70
1 month 1 week.....	195.00	Rental.....	25.00
Traveling.....	419.82	Printing.....	567.60
Supplies.....	73.59		<u>\$1,262.30</u>
Loans returned.....	561.24	Total indebtedness.....	<u>\$1,262.30</u>
Printing.....	212.16		
Society buttons.....	125.50		

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

To the *Secretary-Treasurer*, THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN INDIANS,
Washington, D. C.

Sir: I desire to become an member

(Write active, associate, or junior)

of The Society of American Indians and inclose herewith \$ 2.00

for membership dues for the year 191 and as a donation \$

to further the work of the Society. Total, \$

Fill for active membership

Tribe

Where enrolled

Degree of Indian blood

(Signature)

Address

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN INDIANS

This official organ of the Society will be sent to all members upon receipt
of the subscription price \$1.00

To non-members the price is \$1.50

THE JOURNAL is edited by Indians who are university men and actively
engaged in professional life. The contributors are Indians and the friends of
the race who know the right side of the Indian's story.

FILL OUT THIS BLANK

ARTHUR C. PARKER, *Editor-General*, Albany, N. Y.:

Enclosed find \$..... for which send THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL of the
Society of American Indians to the following address:

Name

Address

SEND FOR A SILVER EMBLEM PIN

To the *Society of American Indians*, Barrister Building, Washington, D. C.:

Send me postpaid Society emblem button or pins. I enclose
50 cents in for each emblem.

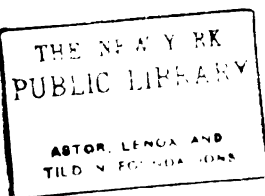
Name

Address



HON. GABE E. PARKER (*Choctaw*)

Register of the U. S. Treasury, former Principal Armstrong Male Academy and a leading member of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention. Mr. Parker is a member of the Advisory Board of the S. A. I. and Chairman of the Special Finance Committee





"The honor of the race and the good of the country shall be paramount"

VOL. II

WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL-JUNE, 1914

NO. 2

Editorial Comment

BY THE EDITOR-GENERAL

**The Madison
Conference Topic**

THE Fourth Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians will be held at Madison, Wis., in buildings provided by the University of Wisconsin, October 6-11, 1914. Every Indian and every person of Indian descent, together with all friends of the race, have a right to be present. Indeed, all are cordially invited. There are great problems to discuss. A race undergoing a transformation for better or worse calls out for help and opportunity.

The Quarterly Journal suggests as the theme for discussion "*To the American Indian let there be given equal opportunities, equal responsibilities, equal equipment.*"

The Indian cannot compete in civilization unless placed on the same footing as other men. An equal status is imperative. If the Indian does not become an *equal* before the law he will be robbed, plundered, trampled upon, and finally die out. This will not be alone his fault. To obtain legal equality the law must pave the way. There is a primary need, therefore, for legislative action. The legislative needs of the race need a thorough understanding. We have many times pointed out these needs. They should be carefully discussed at Madison and our demands given added power. We are not to demand a dozen new laws. In our endorsement of laws let us stick to those already demanded.

They are fundamental. Constant endorsement of bills that never are discussed in Congressional committees will not win respect or command attention.

At the University of Wisconsin we should discuss "Equal Opportunity for the Indian," in lines of agriculture, stock raising, trades, and profession. We should show what equal opportunities have given, the success that has come to men and women with equal opportunities, what others may gain with equal chance with the dominant race. The United States of America owes the American Indian an equal chance, Congress must give it, the people of the country must grant it, and a primary right of humanity.

Our second topic should be "Equal Responsibility for the Indian." We should show how the accession of power equal to that of other men brings with it an equal sharing of the duties of the country. We must provide a proportional number of teachers, doctors, lawyers, mechanics, ministers, authors, newspaper men, statesmen, public servants, inventors, musicians, painters, laborers, stockmen, and farmers. These must help support the Government under which they live in the same manner as other men. *The Indian must do things as well as other men and pay for every privilege he enjoys.* The old idea of Government support must be eliminated.

In order to get an equal chance to succeed, in order to be able to take on equal responsibility, *the Indian needs equal educational equipment.* This is a world where brain power counts. Knowledge is power, and ignorance, by the same token, is weakness. To succeed in civilization the Indian must have the same brain tools. Equal men can do the same things. Equal intelligence gives an equal knowledge of things. The Indian has shown special aptitude in a number of marked cases for high-grade intellectual work. Brain power wins when linked with strong character. An ignorant people always fade away in the presence of education. The Madison conference should carefully discuss the need of greater opportunities for brain development.

Let us go to Madison seeking liberty, equality, and fraternity. Let us point out how we may deserve these rights that free men should enjoy. Let us tell our people what

they must do to gain the opportunities of life that count for character and success. Then let our voices again call upon Congress to provide the laws needful for justice, opportunity, responsibility, and intelligent usefulness.



**The Lesson of
the Carlisle
Investigation**

NOT all the records of the investigation of the conditions at the United States Indian School have been made public. Until everything is known it is well for the public to suspend judgment where censure seems to fall upon individuals. We believe that we are well within our grounds, however, when we draw from the situation a lesson or two as admonitions for future administrators.

For some time the pursuit of certain policies has made the handling of Carlisle a difficult problem. Any superintendent would have had difficulty if placed under the same conditions, but then superintendents must guard the development of unruly elements where possible.

In the first place, the school has laid too much stress upon athletics. To get a school of Carlisle's grade in condition to compete in athletics with institutions of university rating has been no light task. To obtain athletes almost every method has been used, sometimes regardless of finer ethics. The importance of some of the athletes led them to feel that they could disobey regulations with impunity. Leniency with them on the part of the faculty led to bad discipline throughout the school. It is claimed that Carlisle for some time has not been getting the same proportion of students of good character as in former years. There must have been a reason, but Carlisle should never have been used as a reform school. It is unjust to the better grade of pupils, and not only unjust but demoralizing.

It is no longer necessary to demonstrate by means of a star football team that an Indian school can produce skill and muscle. It is necessary, however, to demonstrate that an Indian school pupil has been imbued with enough ambition to desire to enter a high school after he has graduated with

flourishes from Carlisle or any other Indian school. It is little short of criminal to permit these boys and girls to remain content for a minute with their childish education. To praise them for their accomplishment is an imposition. One in four of every Indian school's graduates should enter a high school. A football record is not enough for facing the world. That the physical instructor or coach should receive twice the salary of the superintendent is wrong. If the coach is worth \$4000, then the superintendent should be worth \$8000. Or, Is walloping the pigskin more honorable and necessary than earning a worth-while sheepskin? Indian schools should prescribe a *moral* qualification for entrance as well as requiring a physical examination. There should be a clean student body throughout. The full-blood Indian student should be given the preference, whether he ever reaches the third grade or not. Mixed bloods reared more or less in civilized surroundings do not need the schools supported by the Federal Government nearly as much as the real Indians for whom they were devised. The schools should be run for what they can actually do and not for a glowing report and padded statistics. And finally, the superintendent must command the respect of the students. He need not be a tyrant or turn to the other extreme, as a lax, easy disciplinarian to curry favor. But he should be eminently just, always kind, firm in his discipline, and honestly look to the ultimate interest of his pupils. There are plenty of good men who would be utterly crushed in attempting to superintend an Indian school. The task is a difficult one, and the man should be temperamentally fitted for the place if he hopes to succeed. Once the right man is found the students will be loyal to the end, there can be no doubt.

Carlisle is a great school. The good the school has done in the teaching of manhood and industry can not be measured. There should be no move to remove the school to the West. The opportunities for work and acquaintance with American life are not excelled elsewhere. An outing system is not possible elsewhere as it is at Carlisle. Training at Carlisle puts the boy and girl to the most severe tests. With the great opportunities for learning, for ac-

quiring thrifty habits and a knowledge of the white man's ways, there is also an opportunity to grow character in resisting the evils that beset the town and neighborhood of Carlisle. Carlisle is a great educational center, for besides the Indian school there are local institutions, a preparatory school, and Dickinson College. With all this for an uplift there are immoral influences in the town. Every youth who studies in the town runs the gauntlet of danger. The wonder is that more pupils do not fall victims. Those who win clean are a tribute to the moral efficiency of the school faculty, not to speak of inherent native principle.

The Carlisle Indian School, with its well-earned prestige, the spirit of its splendid graduate body, and with the support of the people, has now an opportunity to become something more than a mere eighth-grade grammar school. With a superintendent of high educational ideals, the school might raise itself to the grade of normal and preparatory schools and become the one great factor for a genuine educational advancement of the red race under the supervision of the Government. Industrial training is not enough, and the power that dogmatically enslaves the Indian to the mental development of his twelve-year old children has little vision or wisdom.

Let Carlisle advance and become the means of a great change in the intellectual status of the race. It can be done if the man can be found who is able to handle the situation as its importance demands.



**Drug-Induced
Religion**

THE ancient Nahautl people of Mexico were acquainted with a drug that they called peyotl. Its habitual use led to the promulgation of a law by the Montezumas forbidding its use as a dangerous habit. The Spanish called the substance *peyote*, and by this name it is known to-day all through the plains region. Peyote has had a tremendous influence during the past decade among the Indians west of the Mississippi. The peyote religion has spread like wild fire among them.

More than all the labors of the missionaries, perhaps, it has led to an abandonment of the old native religious customs. The sacred war bundles, charms of all kinds, and ritualistic societies are given up for the new charm, the panacea of all ills, peyote.

Many times peyote is improperly called mescal. Peyote, however, is a small cactus with a root shaped like a short parsnip or long radish. It belongs to the *Anhalonium* or *Lophora* family of cacti that grows abundantly on the sandy, arid hills south of the Rio Grande. After the flower has matured and left a downy cushion at the top of the tuber, the top of the plant is pulled or cut off. This portion is known as the peyote button. The peculiar intoxicant contained in the plant and its pleasing effects render it a much-sought-for article. To govern its use "religious societies" are formed. A medley of Christian and native songs are sung to the sound of the peyote rattle. Constantly reiterated suggestions of good acts and the return of old ways are chanted, and after eating from seven to seventy buttons the devotee commences his dream-journey to mysterious worlds. Hallucination persists even after consciousness is restored.

Mexican traders derive a good income by selling peyote buttons, and there is a sliding scale of prices, depending on whether 500 or 50,000 buttons are purchased. The principal sources are in Texas.

Many Indians claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism. As a matter of fact many former drunkards now leave liquor entirely alone using peyote, periodically, instead. Others use both forms of intoxication, neither one curing the other.

It is of interest to know that many intelligent Indians are addicted to peyote eating and that they participate in the peculiar religious ceremonies. White men are often seen with them, but it is to be suspected that these men are low grade and that they have a reason for getting on the right side of the Indians. Some of the Indians claim that peyote is the "bitter herb" of the Israelites, and therefore a divine gift. The peyote cult is well organized in congregations, and even has a fund and "missionaries" for spreading its doctrines.

Anhalonium lewinii, or *Laphophora williamsii lewinii*, commonly known as *peyote*, contains three alkaloids, anhalonine, mescaline, and alkaloid 3, besides certain resinous substances. The alkaloids react upon the nervous system as an intoxicant producing hallucinations. Missionary societies for some time have been laboring to prevent peyote eating, and now the Indian Bureau will endeavor to suppress its use on the grounds that it falls in the classification of an intoxicant.

The Journal of Religious Psychology, Vol. 7, No. 1, has a valuable article on the peyote cult of the Winnebago. The author of the article records the hostility of the tribe to the use of peyote when introduced by John Rave. The author continues: "It was apparently at a time when this hostility was at its height that a new convert, Albert Hensley, revolutionized the entire cult by introducing the reading of the Bible and positing the dogma that the peyote opened the Bible to the understanding of the people. . . . He, too, had been in Oklahoma for a long time. He brought with him many peyote songs, generally in other languages and dealing with Christian ideas, upon which subsequently Winnebago songs were modeled. He introduced, likewise, either baptism itself or an interpretation of baptism, and induced Rave to attempt a union with the Christian church."

According to the article, Rave's attitude was not satisfactory to Hensley, who in 1911 withdrew his followers from the original band. Rave believed primarily in the use of the drug for its curative purposes, and Hensley, apparently, for its application to religious exhortation. The use of peyote is rapidly extending, and its effect upon the mental and physical quality of the children born to its users ought to be noted with interest.



**Legislative Needs
of the Race** THERE are several important facts that the Indian, the public, and the Government must face in dealing with this "Indian Problem." The Society, after three years of study and discussion, summarized some of its important conclusions in the third annual platform adopted at Denver, October 18, 1913.

All legislation, rulings, and orders that ignore the first principles that we have laid down will only result in further confusion. We wish to remedy the causes of abuse, injustice, and disability. Most remedial legislation only attacks the surface in order to change the face of matters. We desire to strike at the very root. Our Denver platform states:

Of all the needs of the Indian, one stands out as primary and fundamental. So long as the Indian has no definite or assured status in the Nation; so long as the Indian does not know who he is and what his privileges and duties are, there can be no hope of substantial progress for our race. With one voice we declare that our first and chief request is that Congress provide the means for a careful and wise definition of Indian status through the prompt passage of the Carter code bill. Our second request is based on the great legislative need of our race. Many tribes have waited for many years for money owed them, as they believed, by the United States. Without standing in court, our tribes have waited for years and decades for a determination and settlement of their claims through Congressional action, and the hope of justice has almost died within their hearts. They ought to know soon, and once for all, what their claims are worth. We urge upon Congress the removal of a great source of injustice, a perpetual cause of bitterness, through the passage of the amended Stephens bill, which will open the United States Court of Claims to all the tribes and bands of Indians in the Nation.

For reasons long evident and incontrovertible and in harmony with the policy of land allotments, we urge the prompt division in severalty upon the books of the Nation of all funds held in trust by the United States for any and all Indian tribes. We further urge that these individual accounts to be paid at as early a date as wisdom will allow. Annuities and doles foster pauperism and are a curse to any people that intends to develop independence and retain self-respect as men.

Our platform has other important provisions mentioned, but with the accomplishment of these general provisions, together with better facilities for education, the great end will be in sight.

Our requests, therefore, are these: First, a definite legal status, whereby every Indian may know how he may advance from the stages of wardship to complete citizenship; second, admission to the Court of Claims of all Indian claims, under the same rules as govern the claims of foreigners or

citizens; third, the division into severalty of tribal funds, so that each Indian may know and have a potential hold upon his individual funds; fourth, the means and encouragement for getting a higher education. The Indian race must produce more brain workers properly trained in high schools and colleges.



**The Horton Bill
in New York**

A BILL recently introduced in the New York Legislature "to amend the Indian law generally" contains so many evidences of extreme ignorance that its very worthlessness recommends it to notice. The only redeeming feature of the bill, known as the Horton bill (Assembly, 1245), is the provision making decisions of the Seneca Indian courts subject to appeal in the courts of the State. After the introductory paragraph, the bill reads, beginning with line 6:

The governor shall appoint two white persons, who shall be man and wife, lawfully married, to reside on each of the eight Indian reservations of the State. The man so appointed shall be the director of the agricultural and industrial work on the reservation for which he is appointed, and his wife shall be an instructor and director among the Indian women in the subjects of domestic science, proper living, and better housing conditions. Each person so appointed shall be required to learn the language of the nation or tribe among whom he or she is working during the first year of appointment. The compensation of persons appointed under this section shall be twelve hundred dollars per annum, payable by the State in the same manner as salaries of other officers and employees.

These provisions, probably drafted for Assemblyman Horton by Cary Hartman, a showman and general reservation nuisance, are nothing less than nonsense. In the first place, there are not eight reservations in the State unless the Poospatuck and Shinnecock settlements are called reservations. These tracts are on Long Island, and although there are many negroes living there having some degree of white and Indian blood, it is seriously doubted that there are more than ten persons who may safely be called Indians on these so-called reservations. To learn Shinnecock or Poospa-

tuck in one year would be an impossible task for there are not a hundred words remaining. These words are such simple substantives as, *alamoos*, *dog*; *houashami*, *greetings*; *mat-cik*, *turtle*; *wickoam*, *house*, etc. For the ten Indians who remained, the Horton bill would expend \$4,800 each year.

The actual reservations of Indians in New York State are Allegany Seneca, Cattaraugus Seneca, Tonawanda Seneca, Tuscarora, Onondaga, and Saint Regis Mohawk. The Oil Spring tract, near Cuba, N. Y., consists of a square mile, belongs to the Seneca nation, and is not occupied. The Oneidas have no reservation in the State. Perhaps Oneida and Oil Spring are included in the eight reservations specified by the proposed law, or possibly Cornplanter Reservation, over the line in Pennsylvania. The bill again overreaches itself and exposes the woeful ignorance of its ultimate framer, for no man or woman having the duties described, could learn the languages of the "tribes or nations" in one year. If they did in ten years, would this be teaching civilization and modern science? To compel the learning of Seneca or Tuscarora in one year is amusingly an impossible edict. The Iroquois verb is more complex than the Greek, and there is perhaps but one man, Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt, who could safely be called a master of the Iroquois dialects. "To be compensated in the same manner as any other State employee" is another bit of wording that shows an ignorance of civil government.

Many Indians were alarmed when this astonishing bill appeared. They felt that they needed no more charity, but were plenty able to look after their own agricultural and domestic affairs. They speedily took occasion to illuminate the legislative committees, and Mr. W. Clifford Shongo, a custodian in the Buffalo Historical Society, and a Seneca Indian, took pains to instruct influential men in the records of "Wild West Hartman," the principal backer of the bill. This was because the Indians gravely feared that Mr. Hartman would defeat their efforts to dislodge him from the reservation and that he would be made their instructor. The best friends of the Indian and the most intelligent Indians have no desire to have their destiny further influenced by any showman,

whose "smooth, oily tongue," to quote a victim in Toronto, "is a sure winner." But it did not win, and the Horton bill died in committee. The Indians were too active to let it have serious consideration.

Your editor has spent some time looking into the record of the showman-advisor of the Senecas. He has refuted more than once in the newspapers the tear-bringing statements of the showman, who profited by the charity dollars. And now, after many moons, a United States inspector has discovered a few things, a Buffalo judge has heard a few more, and the showman-teacher-philanthropist has been ordered to get off the reservation. The Indians have been slow to anger, patient, and long suffering, but at last charity had a limit. They have asked that he depart to fields where he can fool somebody else or consider reformation.



**The Indian
School Journal**

AMONG the score or more Indian school publications none impresses the Editor as better fulfilling its function than *The Indian School Journal*, edited by Edgar A. Allen, Superintendent of Chilocco Indian School, Oklahoma. *The School Journal* is tastefully and neatly printed on calendared book paper, permitting text illustrations in halftone throughout. There is nothing in *The School Journal* that gives the impression of padding for the sake of making up space. To the contrary, the magazine is "meat all through." Indeed, to condense space, much of the material published is set in eight-point type. The magazine fairly bristles with interesting and vital short articles gleaned from all sources, making it the foremost medium through which an extensive monthly survey of the Indian field may be known. "The Council Teepee," which is the Editor's department, contains short, vigorous editorials that are direct to the point. Editor Allen runs his sword straight for the vulnerable points of his foes, and he never seems to care who he cuts or what kind of a slash he will get in return,—not a bad characteristic, by the way.

We like *The Indian School Journal*, not only for its strength and the mass of information that it contains, but because it

looks like a publication issued by a professional press. It looks like business and carries none of the air of a periodical put out "for show."

The first insert page states that no one has been found who knows the meaning of the word "Chilocco." We should like to say that "Chilocco" is a word in a Seminole dialect meaning *horse*,—but, as the statement continues, "To a vast number of young people it has now come to mean *opportunity*." For hundreds of Indian boys and girls this is strictly true. The Chilocco Indian School affords a mighty opportunity of training for a life of success.



The Soul of a Movement is a Personal Soul TO LIVE, any organization dedicated to the regeneration of mankind, to the promulgation of happiness, and the stimulation of usefulness in men must have a soul. Even the so-called soulless corporation must have a soul. The soul of a corporation, a society, or an organization of any kind must be *a man*, or *a group of men* whose singleness of purpose and unity of action is *dynamic* in character. These men, or the man forming the soul of the organization, must embody all the highest ideals of organization. A soulless organization is a body without a leader, an inert mass of men that either sinks into inaction or quarrels until no life is left. The soul is the essential part of any group of men who expect to gain results by their unity. Be its machinery, physical equipment, and business system ever so perfect and its regulations ever so modern, an organization that has no embodied ideal will miserably fail. To live there must be enthusiasm, inspiration, and a living response to the monitions of the corporate soul. That a society should follow the ideals of the man or men who best embody the society's ideals, does not destroy democracy. "Let the people rule," surely, but let their strength be added to the group of men whom they have elected to represent them in carrying out their great ideals. A leader is not necessarily a demagogue whose elevation means his personal elevation to honor. The tribute paid to a leader is a mere recognition of the value of the ideals he ex-

presses, and expresses to the world better than other individuals in the organization. A nation, a race, or a society honors itself in the eyes of the world by honoring in the highest degree its leaders. It destroys itself by failing to cooperate with them through a feeling that honor and appreciation rendered them will enlarge their personal influence, thereby giving them greater means for selfish power. A wise leader may accomplish epochal changes if he is willingly followed by earnest men imbued by high ideals. All history clusters about individuals. The history of every movement is the story of one man's work, or the work of a few kindred spirits. History is biography and great events bring to mind great men—the Revolution recalls Washington; the Rebellion, Lincoln; the French Empire, Napoleon; Rome, Cæsar; Macedonia, Alexander. Every great historic event has its great man who embodies its ideals. The greatness of the ideal depends largely upon the man who expresses it; its effectiveness does immeasurably.

The man, the ideal, the soul, these three as a trinity, must not be starved by an overdevotion to the physical body of a movement. There must be a fountain head and a true consciousness. An unconscious man, like a soulless organization, may live for a while, but not long. Some one else must feed and finance it, but still it has no power of initiative, no ability to construct. With the body and the mind must be linked the power of *soul energy*. Here is something for this Society and every society to consider deeply and earnestly. It is life-medicine and must be taken.



**The First Assistant
Commissioner** THERE is a quiet, painstaking worker down in Washington, who for a number of years has thoughtfully given his time to the interests of the Indian. He has none of the marks of a politician, but patiently labors on, following high ideals. Even his enemies commence to admire him. Mr. Edgar B. Meritt, the Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, is this painstaking worker. He has the faculty of getting honestly and logically to the bottom of things. For the Indian

he wants justice and a fair chance. The newspapers that once slung criticism at him now gladly express their admiration. And, what was this criticism? It was the claim that Mr. Meritt was "a part of the old ring" and "a left-over of the Bureau machinery." But Mr. Meritt has shown that he is in no ring, either political or pugilistic. His fighting is not the scheming, crooked fight of a ring politician,—it has been so clean that the very best influences in the country are glad to claim him as a friend. It requires a man with a heart of steel and nerves of adamant to withstand the pressure brought to bear against an official in the Indian Office. The Assistant Commissioner stands this pressure and does not flinch. With him right is right and wrong is wrong. In time his critics discover this and then appreciate his steadfast principles. How well will office rules, the laws of the country, and the desires of politicians allow Mr. Meritt to labor as he wishes for the uplift of the red race? The people of the country must see that he has moral support in every worthy plan of action.



**The Curse of
Alcohol**

THE Indian has no hereditary resistance to rum. It courses in his veins as in a child's. Woeful ills have come upon the red man because of drink. The Indian's brain and body were never meant to hold alcohol. Alcohol rots the mind and brings on disease. It starts the way to death. The Indian who drinks curses himself, curses his neighbor, is a traitor to his race, and a destroyer of the human kind. Alcohol drinkers, by poisoning the life-forces within them, plot against the health and mental power of their children. The children of drinkers are born cursed. It is little wonder that the drunkard may not enter the kingdom of heaven. He destroyed what God made. Alcohol deceived the red man into selling his country for a pittance, it has robbed the race of health and resistance to disease. The noble red man as a drunkard is a savage indeed. He is worse; all men of all races who drink are race murderers. The Indian Commissioner sees the truth and has launched a great crusade against rum. The truth he sees is God's truth. Let all men take heed.

The Editor's Viewpoint

The American Indian—What Is He?

Indians Have No IN THE early days an Indian was
Definite simply a native of the American continents,
Legal Status having received his name through a mis-
taken notion of Columbus. There was no trouble in deter-
mining what an Indian was in those days of the first contact.
Even as late as the middle of the last century there was no
trouble in such matters. Beginning with the early fifties up
to 1881 legalists found it easy to classify a man as an Indian
if he was of Indian blood. Then came the Dawes bill, and
matters grew more complex because it seemed necessary
that they should. What an Indian now is is a tangled ball
of red yarn having as a nucleus the Federal Indian Bureau.
Just whether an Indian is on the inside of the ball next to
the core or hanging on the outside as a stray bit of lint all
depends upon the Indian, his tribe, upon the laws of the
State in which he lives, and finally upon the rulings of the
Indian Office.

At present we are beginning to understand that changes
in methods of living and changes in the law have taken place
to such an extent that it is difficult to determine when an
Indian is an Indian and when he is not. A confusion of terms
involving actual blood and legal status serve constantly to con-
fuse us. A descendant of a German immigrant, though of pure
German blood, living as a citizen of this country, is not a Ger-
man but an American, legally speaking. His foreign ways of
living and thinking all change and even his bodily form be-
comes modified. The German has thus become Ameri-
canized, though he remains proud of his descent from the
great German stock. His rights as a citizen of America
are not impaired because of blood extraction, and in the
ordinary affairs of life he thinks of himself only as an Ameri-
can. He is enabled to do this at the very outset because in
coming to America *he has cut loose from all the legal ties of his
fatherland.* He found it better to do so.

But can an Indian cut loose? Degree of Indian blood, tribe, location, treaty provisions, legal rulings, all influence the answer. The Indian thinks he has certain rights right here, and he will not as a rule give them up to become even an American in the legal sense. I know of an Indian of pure blood who cut loose from all home ties, forgot his mother tongue, passed through white schools, is a scholar and a gentleman. He lives with the whites, teaches the whites, and labors earnestly. But he is a full-blood Indian and can not become a citizen because of his tribal affiliation. He is a "full-blood," living to all intents and purposes as a citizen and yet not one. Rev. Sherman Coolidge's experience is that of other Indians. He is an Indian of the proudest stock and most honored families of the Arapahoe. Yet another full-blood Indian from Alaska, Mr. Louis Shotridge, of the University of Pennsylvania, according to law is not an Indian. Indians in Alaska are not Indians but "natives" and not under the Indian Bureau. The difference in status is shown by comparing the Indians of similar conditions and of like capacity in the various States. Indians in New York, though only descendants on the mother's side from an Indian woman five generations back, are Indians, though fifteen-sixteenths white. In Oklahoma mixed-bloods are given certain rights not enjoyed by full-bloods, but all Indians of Oklahoma are potential citizens. Indians having allotments in Nebraska are citizens. Citizen Indians resident in Illinois are without restrictions of any sort as Indians; in Wisconsin they are wards of the Nation. Indians in Maine are wards of the State; in New York they are wards of the State and the Nation. In some States allottees are citizens while others are not. One fact is significant: *No series of grades has ever been established that in a uniform way will lift the Indian from a state of pure wardship up to complete citizenship*, with all rights, duties, and responsibilities of such. The first plank in the Denver platform of the Society of American Indians points out this fact, and for three years this Society has been agitating the passage of a bill that would clarify the law, bring into being a new code of law, and pave the way for order, definite classification, and full justice.

As matters now stand, the so-called "Indian law" is only a mass of hodge-podge legislation that happened to get through Congress or which sprang into being as the result of emergency conditions. The country owes the Indian something better.

**As the World
Changes Men Must
Change** THE name "Indian" and the condition of the Indian depends entirely upon where he happens to live and not necessarily upon his education, ability, or character. What we call an Indian to-day is the result of a series of experiments and a subsequent modification by environment. The wonder is that there is anything left to call an Indian. There are those who mourn that the old Indian type is passing away and that his art and craft are being swept away. Many sentimental white men and women cry out the pity of it all. To ask a practical question, Would these same good-hearted friends be willing to say that they would like to go back to the days of Queen Elizabeth, or hie back to the time of Chaucer? Do they feel that the loss of the simple arts of early England are not paid for by modern invention? If it is too bad that the Indian is changing and has lost his arts, it is just as melancholy that white men do not spin with a simple wheel, weave with a wooden shuttle, cut wheat with a sickle, and use armor for evening suits. My white friend who is shocked to see me upon the lecture platform without a buckskin shirt and a hat filled with feathers, to be perfectly consistent, should strip off his own clothes, paint his ribs blue, and gnaw on the thigh bone of an ox while he listens to my harrangue. Then he would be as his ancestors were in the good old days of pagan Briton land "when men were men," before the Romans came, and before William of Normandy grasped the shores of Albia in his mailed fist. It is a wise man who knows that times have changed and bring new ways of living. It is a sane man who sees that we do not all live in the pages of Cooper or in the days of Samoset. The Indian who lives to-day, and with keen eyes plans to live to-morrow, has no time of bewailing the passing of old ways. He can plow better in a suit of blue jeans and eat better from a linen-covered table. Indians always wanted some-

thing better than they had. If this were not so, when the traders came they would not have taken cloth. They tried to make cloth in the old days and some of the tribes succeeded in a limited, primitive way. They always wanted cloth and were glad when they could get it. The pottery vessel gave way to the copper kettle, the flint blade to a steel knife, the bow to the gun, the pictograph to roman script or the printed page. *Improvement came and was accepted because it was needed.* The three hundred thousand Indians surrounded by the hundred million whites must conform to the conditions that the whites have brought. There is no other way, and unless all men should suddenly develop extreme altruism, unless ideal conditions could come, the Indian cannot remain as his fathers were. A band of white men holding a tract of land and living as the men of Cæsar's time, for example, would not exist very long in this modern day. Their lack of knowledge, their old way of thinking, their lack of legal status identical with that of the country in which they lived, would bring on a speedy perishing. *A changed world, changed conditions, changed circumstances, demand a people changed so as to be in harmony with their surroundings.* The animals of ten thousand years ago have become extinct and to-day we dig up their bones and call them names that require a college education to understand and pronounce. These animals went to nature's scrap heap because they would not or could not learn how to live as changed conditions came upon earth. Shall the Indian go to the scrap heap of nations because his conservatism has solidified his brain and paralyzed his powers for advancement? Or shall the verile blood of a noble race assert itself by arousing its men to an awakening that sees with wide-open eyes the bare facts of the struggle of life?

IN THESE modern days how can any Indian be an Indian? To summarize the various characters in parable, let us picture the Indians of two or three classes. Hon. Cassius Leopard is an Indian according to the laws of the land. He is a member of a great church, he is a politician, has certain commercial interests, is a member of a big fraternity, is in a cer-

Character
Sketches

tain unpleasant position that he desires to remain covered, and is more or less compelled to do the bidding of certain politicians whose influence he needs. Now, in such a mixed state of affairs, is Mr. Leopard an Indian primarily? Is he first of all loyal to his church, is he most loyal to his party, is he standing up for the Criterion Oil Company, is he controlled by the Knights of Pythias, or is he a frightened servant of Senator Hesa Grafter? To whom is he loyal first and foremost, his own tottering position, his political interests or his tribe and race? Is such an Indian an Indian? What interest has he in common with the uneducated Indian of the Rocky Mountain foothills?

Sit-Still-Always is another type of an Indian. He belongs to the Oilland tribe, which owns a great tract of mineral land. Mr. Sitstill lives in a little cabin built by white carpenters. It is quite dirty inside and slops are seen around the doors. Sitstill does not work any more than he has to. The rentals from his allotments furnish enough money to feed and clothe him. His children go to school five hundred miles away. It does not cost him anything. He does not worry about their education. Once in a while, however, he likes to see them back home, for his heart is a father's heart and he loves his children. Sitstill sees the whirl of civilization all about him. Its products are welcomed by him, yet he feels that they are foreign things. He feels himself an Indian and wants to act differently from the whites. Certain bad whites give him plenty reasons for holding white ways in contempt. Certain others he admires. In fact, he is rather confused, and becomes an inactive spectator, merely looking on to see what will happen next. It never occurs to him that he should make anything happen that is useful to other men. Then he goes to the peyote lodge and dreams away the night in a ceremony that fills his mind first with rainbows, great wheels of color, then visions of the old days when buffaloes were plenty. By-and-by he journeys up in his drug-born dream to the land of the Great Spirit and there sees signs and wonders. He is a great man, a big man; he is conqueror, and the white man is a weakling who shall perish. The next morning he feels different. He recalls

Strong Buffalo, his grandfather, who earned his own living shooting antelope and selling skins to the traders. Strong Buffalo never received Government rations and never sang peyote songs. Strong Buffalo was a great man,—both white men and Indians agreed upon this,—and the white soldiers watched carefully when he got angry at the settlers who squatted on his tribal land. Strong Buffalo did things well and did them himself. Then Sitstill said to himself, "I do nothing but eat and sleep; I live for the fun I can get out of life and do things to make show of my money. I only belong to my tribe because I get money out of it at the agency building." Is Sitstill an Indian? What has he in common with Dr. Nahuatl?

Dr. Martin Nahuatl was born on a reservation, but was taken away when a child. He grew up with the boys and girls in a large eastern town. He brushed wits with them and took many a prize in school. Later, he went to college and finished in a professional school. He knew in a vague sort of a way that he was an Indian, but that fact never bothered him. He loved his race for its history and independence. He was of it and out of it, and not in it or with it. All his life interests, when he became a doctor and settled in Detroit, were centered in the community in which he lived. He was a part of the great country, a voter, and a taxpayer. His heart loved his Indian people, however, and he did his utmost to help them. His appeals to Congress and through the press counted heavily for bringing relief. Dr. Nahuatl has no reservation property; he cannot talk his tribal tongue; he never dressed as a Geronimo or a Red Cloud. Can it be that he is an Indian? What is he? Our answer will have to wait.

Out in Nebraska lived two Indian boys. Both graduated from an Indian school. John Ironheart was not a great success at school, but he did have a good reputation for honesty and thrift. After his school days he returned to his reservation and started to develop a farm and raise a few head of cattle. He plodded on, saving his money, planning wisely, and working every day. His wife had a day-school education, but had learned many good things from the

missionary's wife. She had the same spirit as her husband and helped him as earnestly as she loved him. Their circle of interest was small. It centered about a desire to live cleanly and comfortably. They had no great desire to help anyone else. They were just plain, hard-working, good people and a credit to the reservation. John's brother Garfield wandered away from the reservation and joined a circus, for he was a good man in the saddle and could rope a steer in great style. Later, he drifted into a Mississippi valley town and got work in a livery stable. By a streak of good luck and his own keen wit he became a partner in the business. Every year he gets a check from the agency office back home, but that is his sole reservation tie. As for a love of race he has none. He may talk of it sometimes, but it is only rhetoric. What interest has he with his brother or with any other Indian?

Mr. Charles Always-Working has a neat home on his reservation. He learned the carpenter trade at Hampton. He has a practical education, but learned that to keep his mind from rusting out that he had to keep on reading good books. Charles gives liberally of his money to help needy causes. He stands by his people and defends them wherever he goes. The world respects Indian blood more because he does. But his life is not one of talking only; he is a worker in a big shop, where he has a highly paid position. He heads the Tribal Betterment League and has made a great society of it. Yet, the tribal council never has asked his advice; they call him "White Man's Heart." Is Charles Always-Working an Indian? We believe that he is in the most honorable sense, for he grows with the times and responds to its call. No matter what his people think of him, he holds on to his highest ideals of right and remains loyal to the tribe's true interests. The world is better because he lives, and all Indians interest him, whether Sioux, Chippewa, or Navaho.

The Indians I have pictured are only composite types wrought out of a great mass of Indian humanity. There are more types than these. Our aim has been to show how differently situated an Indian may be and how far the inter-

ests of Indians may diverge. Yet, judged by standards of blood, all such persons are Indians. Can it be that the great tie of common blood, descent from ancestors who were America's first occupants, and the natural patriotism that springs from such an interest is great enough to awaken these men and women to a sense of personal duty to the whole race? Our answer may be that this all depends upon individual character. What are the mental and moral qualities of Indians? How far has the old-time strength of character been preserved in its civilized milling? To what extent have the agencies of the Government, the Indian school, and the mission sought to develop the needful qualities of heart and brain that go to make for noble character? Who has failed, the Indian or his white teacher? Have either failed?

**The Common
Interest**

TO-DAY the mass of Indians have in common several unhappy conditions, viz: reservation misery, uncertain legal status, no standing in the Federal Court of Claims, lack of equipment to exist efficiently in competition with the white race, this coming through a lack of educational training of a higher standard. Changed conditions therefore demand the gradual abolition of reservations, the individual apportionment of tribal moneys, the separation of Indians into stated classes, each leading to one higher until full citizenship comes, the exercise of the rights of citizenship and the assumption of its full duties, and the training of a normal percentage of Indian youths in the high schools and colleges of the country. In short, the complete merging into the life of the country is the only salvation for the race. Many Indians do not recognize the cause of their misery; many of their white friends do not see it. Many Indians do not agree as to the remedies; the people of the country have so far failed to give them relief completely.

In the old days an Indian was a member of a tribe of his kind. His associations were limited by his tribal life, and his interests outside were few. He had heard in a vague way of other men and other tribes a thousand miles away, but he cared nothing for them and even imagined them only

partially human. His tribe was the "real human race." The tribesman was anxious to achieve glory for himself and to bring honor to his tribe. He joined a secret society to gain power, he kept a bundle of mystery medicines, he made mysterious charms, sang for his war bundle in the "Association of Warriors," and prided himself upon his strength, his fleetness, and the potency of his charms. He was clannish and had scant sympathy for the enemy over the hills. The coming of the white race alone brought the consciousness of a broad racial identity that overstepped tribe and confederacy. It was easy to see that red skin differed from white; it was easy to see that the methods of production, the ways of thinking, and the moving purposes of the white invaders differed from those of all men having red skins. But the coming of race consciousness never brought race solidarity. Some cynics, of course, say, "Oh, well, the Indians could not stick together. They joined the whites and fought other tribes of their own kinsmen and helped destroy their own race." Quite true, my friend, Mr. Cynic. And likewise, the white race could not stick together. The French tribe joined the Algonquin tribes and tried their best to kill off the English tribe. All the white tribes from Europe tried to kill each other, thereby helping to destroy their own race. So, *race consciousness never did bring universal race solidarity*. The division of loyalty splits fine to the very individual. This all goes to prove that race interest, race ties, race loyalty, are altogether dependent upon external circumstances. *The moving force within men is not racial blood, but the attainment of ideals*. Ideals know no respect for race or blood. Many men may have the same ideals. Tribes and bands, or individuals of unlike nationality, may band together for the attainment of an ideal that is of advantage to all. The American nation is an example of a striving for an ideal in government; the Church of Rome in religion; the Socialist party in international political unity; the Standard Oil Company in commerce; Esperanto in language. All these bodies of men, striving to attain an ideal, ask not what race a man belongs to, but how much he believes in the ideal it embodies. But a race of men and their descendants

may be so situated that they have just reason for uniting in a common cause. The Indian, we believe, has upon the grounds before stated. Out of this belief sprang the Society of American Indians as a race organization. Its purpose is to attain three great ideals for the American Indian, not only in order to benefit the Indian but to benefit the great American people.

These ideals are: First, *the obtaining of rights equal to those of the governing powers*. This ideal seeks out an equal opportunity to compete with other men and to enjoy the same privileges that they do. The Indian deserved all his rights and every power for achievement, liberty of action, and chance for success that any man in civilization has. Second, *the American Indian, as interpreted by this Society, asks for equal responsibility*. With equal rights must come an equal opportunity to serve the greater nation and all the human race. With the power that comes, comes the duty to use that power for the betterment of others. The Indian must be a producer, a worker, a builder, a maker of things, a grower, give largely of his fortunes, and do it consciously and intelligently because he wills to do it. Third, *the Indian in order to have equal rights and to perform equal service must be equally equipped. Education is that equipment*. If the Indian is not equally educated he never can equally succeed. A child's school will not make a man's brain. There must be a chance to attain this education. Not every one need take a college course, but as great a percentage of Indians must do it as the whites. The civilization of a people dwells in the few whose minds have grasped the opportunity to expand and rise to a height where great visions are seen and in which better things are discovered. Men of this stamp are the pillars that hold up humanity from the sink holes of savagery. Without them any race would fall again into primitive brutality, anarchy, and ignorance. The Indian must have his towers of strength, and they must be as lofty as those of any race. There is no hope in the rusty guy wire that stretches between the Indian Office and the agency building. As many Indians have been hanged by it as saved by it. No, the Government cannot be



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your pillar of strength that lifts you. The Indian of character, whose education gives him mental muscle and whose character lifts his vision high, alone can win for the red man the respect he should have.

**The Indian-American
and His Duty** AN Indian is a human being having like passions with other men, a descendant of the aboriginal race of America, and a product of a changing environment. The modern Indian is not the old-time Indian. A change has taken place and a growing chasm to-day separates the American Indian from the Indian-American. Whatever the treaties say, whatever the laws of Congress say, the rights of the Indian-American, judged by the standards of the ethics of race development, are not the same as those of the American Indian of the early day. The rights of a man differ from the rights of a child. *Changes in environment have modified rights.* A new day has brought a new duty. It remains for the Indian-American to respond to this duty through his devotion to the three ideals we have mentioned,—equal opportunity, equal responsibility, equal education.

The Society of American Indians was formed that such ideals might bring about a common interest. The success of the Society and the fidelity to these ideals on the part of men and women called Indians is a supreme test of the strength that remains within the Indian-American. It measures his development and records the effect of civilization.

With the Passing of Puritanism the Red Man Comes

By ALNOBA WAUBUNAKI

LONG before 1620 the men of Dawn Land had heard of the pale invaders from across the big salt sea. Long before that time, many of the native Americans had seen the strangers. Many were the wild tales, too, that they had heard about them, and sometimes as they thought about these matters they feared that even the Dawn Land (New England) by the Sea of Big Storms might be invaded, for as yet few white-face strangers had come among them. So they feared, and in their fearings knew not whether to hate the pale people from across the big salt sea or to welcome them. The Magwas (Mohawks) of the Long House people had told of two divisions of the strangers and of two great kings who sought dominion, and the Magwas made war upon the invaders of the north. But could the men of Dawn Land resist them? Most truly the men of the Dawn were brave, but their wars were little wars, and a thousand men never came against them in battle save the Magwas, who cared only for tribute and not dominion.

In the south the armor-coated adventurers of Spain had ransacked the country for treasure and had brought ruin, misery, and disease wherever they had gone. In the north the eager French had brushed aside the frightened tribes and lied them into becoming allies. Then they sought to lay claim to all the country there and labored hard for trade.

Wherever the invader came, north or south, he cried, "Give, give, give." Wherever the invader came, with him came sober-faced men in long black robes. Plunging through tangled morass or trackless forest, these earnest men had sought out the villages of the red men and cried "Repent and be baptized!" And as they spoke they held before the eyes of the frightened people a strangely wrought medicine sign, the sign of the four directions. So some were baptized, but others were sullen and looked upon the sign as the symbol that the invader had come to claim all there was of the four directions and to claim by conquest. Then did the hearts of the red men grow very bitter, and they were tormented by suspicions that as time went on seemed well founded.

With the men of the Dawn Land down by the Sea of Big Storms a frightful year had passed. Like two preceding years it had been a holo-

caust. The woodlands all about Patuxet were strewn with the bones of men and women and children. All along the little creeks the villages were silent, and grass grew in the paths. In the settlements far back the men were lean with the ravages of the plague, and only a little corn had been harvested. Almost had the survivors forgotten the stories of the wonderful invaders that pressed about them in the lands of other tribes. Then without warning, in the moon of the first snow, a strange sight greeted them as they gazed into the offing. A great white-winged bird—or was it a winged canoe—floated into vision. Could this be the awful Chebi, that once invisible had crushed the nation in his maw until the spirits of the dead howled wild for revenge in the black shadows of the forest; was it the Thunder Bird, that mighty Manitou, and was he angry, or was it a peaceful messenger of the Great Manitou come to rescue them and make the land fragrant with flowers and the air ring with the laughter of happy children?

Long and earnestly did they chant their invocations and send up incense smoke on the prayer fires in the clearings. "If the mystery is good, O mighty Manitou, haste its coming; if it is madjip, O Manitou the mighty, help us destroy it." Thus did the men of the Dawn Land pray.

Then they saw that indeed it was a big canoe, and that men were within it, and that the men had white faces. Wild their hearts throbbed and all the tales of the invaders came to their minds, and as the big canoe came nearer they were filled with panic. Their hearts grew stern and sullen, and bitter rage gnawed sharp at every breath. Manitou the mighty had forsaken them.

Aspinet, the chief, the hot-headed one, spoke: "Your fears are well founded, men of the Dawn Land. They, the strangers, have landed. They carry long, black thunder poles that roar as they speak and smoke. Then do men die. See, even I, Aspinet, am wounded, for as I showered my arrows upon the stone-coated men my warriors fled, and alone I fought until the thunder pierced me, and I, too, ran, for who can fight against such mystery? Let us wait, for they are yet in the big canoe."

By the big boulder at the inlet, at the sheltered cove, the smaller canoes moored. The people of the big canoe were in them. Out of the canoes and onto the rock came the people and then went ashore. The pale people had made a landing.

From hidden places Aspinet's spies watched. Strange it was that the invaders had no signs of the four directions. Strange they were but few, and their children and their women clustered about them. They looked not like fighting men, even though they had the thunder

poles. Strange they did not clutch at the rocks and cry, "Gold, gold, where is gold?" And what was this gold that pale invaders seek with staring eyes? Is it the charm of happiness that they suffer so to find it?

The bold young men and the wounded chief scouted the forest and howled into the night like evil ghosts to frighten away the strangers, but they were not frightened.

Then, a few days later, Samoset came and said, "Be quite, ye fools of Nauset! These men are not like others of their kinsmen. I, Samoset, have lived in the north among the invaders and I have hunted with them and sold them fish. I know. Let me go to them for you and cry welcome, for they are not come as fighting men, as you yourselves have seen."

Into the camp of the strangers Samoset went and with outstretched hand he spoke. "Welcome, Englishmen!" So did Samoset speak.

Later came Squanto to teach the strangers how to grow bread corn and how to live as foresters in the Dawn Land by the Sea of Big Storms. In the long excursions into the wilds Samoset was the interpreter for the strangers, and his presence was the guaranty of peaceful travel and of successful quest.

In this manner did the men of the *Mayflower* ship meet the men of Dawn Land, and so were they welcomed and fed by the men of Dawn Land.

Time went on and more strangers came and the Dawn Land people faded away with the shrinking of the forest until now only a few descendants remain in small places and call themselves Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, and Abenaki.

The struggle to exist in a strange environment has been a hard one, and the new customs that are thrust upon them are full of inconsistent ways, yet they have not failed to observe the strength and wisdom of the *Mayflower* people and their descendants. They have made great laws and erected machinery and live in great stone houses. They preached virtue to all men.

True it is that there are evil outgrowths in the ways of the Puritans, and these evils have made Puritanism a by-word among the people. Puritanism was not all pure, for, while it sought to build upon pure ideals, these ideals were colored by the sentiments of men and women who knew little of the real joy that is found in the activities of life that are pursued for very love of life. The Puritan sought to be useful and good and sought to restrain those who would seek pleasure and beauty. This idea was the extreme reaction of the evil conditions in England and on the Continent, where for selfish purposes the evil forces gathered about them all that was beautiful and alluring in art and

humanity and sought out of useful things to pervert their natural designs to evil courses.

But the good, the beautiful, the true, and the happy are forever inseparable. Each is an attribute of the other, and men may be neither good nor true without being happy and beautiful.

From the false ideals of the Puritans the people of the Dawn Land suffered much. There were wars and bloodshed. The children and the women of the red men were murdered and burned, as in that frightful massacre on the Mystic River in April, 1637. There was no knowledge that the red men themselves might have a viewpoint and a right to own and occupy that which the Creator had given them. The Puritans forgot many things that were taught by their Lord, whom they worshiped. Thus it was that their preacher, Increase Mather, rose in his pulpit the religious day and, lifting his voice heavenward to the Creator, said: "We thank thee, Lord, that on this day we have sent six hundred heathen souls to hell!"

To-day there is no such idea of humanity. Only the ignorant and undeveloped among men are thus vindictive. The higher ideals of men teach them to save other men, to understand other men, and then to work with them for a common purpose.

Puritanism has influenced the new world greatly, but just as the Indians fed, clothed, and sheltered the little defenseless Puritan band in the stormy winters of 1620-21, so has the Indian fed and sheltered in a large measure the greater race that grew from it. It has done this at the cost of life and of land. Little remains, comparatively, to the men of Dawn Land and their brothers to the west. But their influence remains, and the heroic virtues of the red man are rapidly becoming those of the new race that seeks to find better ways of life and more natural forms of happiness. The modern American seeks the forest, the camp, the out-door world; his children emulate the red children and seek to know the lore of the natural world as a part of it—and not as the earlier white men, priest-taught, did, as creatures above nature.

And so the people of Dawn Land have now dwindled. From the pale invaders they have learned much of evil and of good. It is only where they have learned good that they have lived. The big ships have come, they have unladen their passengers, and since then there has been a never-ceasing stream. It will be a good thing for the red man to learn their ways and learn well, but the ideals of the old life that are noble and strong must never be forgotten. These great ideals must conquer the intrusive race.

After all, the sins of the Puritans, who saw themselves only as the children of heaven and all else as servants of Satan, were human sins.

Yet, believing themselves purified, their error to other men was more defiling than war or famine. The civilization that followed that of Pilgrim, Puritan, and Cavalier became in a great measure a selfish one that drew power to the individual through favorable situations in physical being or legislation. In the great desire to grow, acquire, and achieve much they forgot much and left undeveloped the best within man's soul. The mistake of this civilization even now makes the race at war with itself; its fever-active brain acts like a subtle intoxicant spurring activity, and the ruddy glow is but a hectic flush,—yet there is no knowledge of this. True, there is not of necessity a deadly disease, for right thinking and equal development of natural endowments will effect the cure. Even now the change is coming. Old ideas are changing and being expelled like worn-out, disease-eaten corpuscles that are eliminated to give place to new cells and new blood that brings health. The self-repression, false sentiment, self-worship, self-consciousness, the false covering, shall be swept away. Even now the yellowed lungs, filled with hardened lumps, poisoned by boxed-in air, cry out in their sickness for the ozone of the hills. The lifeless skin, clammy with clinging poisons, gasps for the friction of air and oxygen as food. The enervating body coverings, the steel bands, the tight foot wear, the smothering hat, all must go. Water must fill the throat, not wine. Food must be crushed by strong jaws and not supped like a chemical paste. Nature must use its resources, perform its functions within itself by effort. The body is good; the God made it pleasing to look upon. The sin is in hideous grotesque covering.

Though he made his own mistakes in thinking, the red man learned more error through the false things taught by the teachers of "civilization." In his natural desire for exhilaration he drained the poisoned cup and sold his birthright for more. Disease eats at his vitals and his eyes grow dim. He cannot survive in a civilization that is not a part of himself. Even so, clinging to his ideals, though sickened and sinful with the evils of the new way, he holds himself unconquered. And well may he feel unconquered.

Though the last of the red men perish, and a reddened sun sinks in a misty horizon to leave a blackened, starless sky to mourn his fate, yet shall the red man not be conquered. He shall live in his ideals. The river, the mountain, the valley, the lake, shall sing back the names he gave them. The form of limb and figure shall be returned to men, for the very bones of the white man shall change and his muscles become those of the red man; the color of his skin shall become coppered and his nose shall yearn for the smell of forest mold and the perfume of the pine. His feet shall ache for the prairie sod and he shall for-

sake his boxlike house for a tent home by the brook. He shall sing the sounds of the wind and the waterfall, and his heart then shall cry out in thanksgiving to the new-found God. Then shall he seek in the treasured lore of the red man the virtues that made the red man in his soul a matchless man, and finding virtue he shall cry, "My God, what have I done to this man who is no more!"

But in those days men will have learned that to give and not to get is the highest right of man. Then shall they have learned that to do things of value is greater than not doing things. Righteousness, they will learn, means doing, uplifting, giving *actively*, and not merely in refraining *negatively*. In those days men shall have learned that Puritanism fails where it means repression and negative virtue, and that Deity and Nature triumph when men follow their call.

Then, in those days, the new American shall have learned what it truly means to love wife and child, neighbor, country, and God.

Then, in his journey out into the morning, with bronzed chest this new American shall sweep out into the waters in his birchen canoe a *Red Man*.



My Race Shall Live Anew

By ALNOBA WABUNAKI

My race yet lives,—it shall not die,
It has a mission to all earth
And will the cong'ror only heed
My race shall proove its sterling worth.

Unchain the red man, make him free
To struggle and to claim his own!
The world shall find beneath his skin
Staunch human flesh, good blood and bone.

Give freedom to the red man's mind,
Provide the tools with which to hew,—
To carve his way as other men;
And then my race shall live anew!

*The Fathers of the Republic on Indian Transformation and Redemption**

By GEN. R. H. PRATT

IT seems to me best that we consider now and always the earnest and official views about Indians and their welfare coming from our greatest rulers who have had responsibility for their care and progress in civilization.

President Washington said:

"I cannot dismiss the subject of Indian affairs without again recommending to your consideration the exigencies of more adequate provisions for restraining the commission of outrages upon the Indians without which all specific plans may prove nugatory. To enable by competent rewards the employment of qualified and trusty persons to reside among them as agents would also contribute to the preservation of peace and good neighborhood.

"If in addition to these expedients an eligible plan could be devised for promoting civilization among the friendly tribes, and for carrying on trade with them upon a scale equal to their wants, and under regulations calculated to protect them from imposition and extortion, its influence in cementing their interests with ours could not but be considerable.

"I add, with pleasure, that the probability even of their civilization is not diminished by the experiments which have thus far been made under the auspices of Government.

"The accomplishment of this work if practicable will reflect undecaying lustre on our National character and administer the most grateful consolation that virtuous minds can know."

President Jefferson said:

"In truth, the ultimate point of rest and happiness for them [the Indians] is to let our settlements and theirs meet and blend together, to intermix and become one people. Incorporating themselves with us as citizens of the United States is what the natural progress of things will bring on; it is better to promote than retard it. It is better for them to be identified with us and preserved in the occupation of their lands than to be exposed to the dangers of being a separate people."

President Madison said:

"The peace and friendship of the Indian tribes of the United States are found to be so desirable that the general disposition to pursue both continues to gain strength.

*A paper read at the Philadelphia Local Meeting of the S. A. I., Feb. 14, 1914.

"I am happy to state that the facility is increasing for extending that divided and individual ownership which exists now in movable property only to the soil itself, and of thus establishing in the culture and improvement of it a true foundation for a transit from the habits of the savage to the arts and comforts of social life."

President Monroe said:

"Experience has clearly demonstrated that independent savage communities cannot long exist within the limits of a civilized population. The progress of the latter has almost invariably terminated in the extinction of the former, especially of the tribes belonging to our portion of the hemisphere among whom loftiness of sentiment and gallantry of act have been conspicuous.

"To civilize them and even to prevent their extinction it seems to be indispensable that their independence as communities should cease, and that the control of the United States over them should be complete and undisputed. The hunter's state will then be more easily abandoned and recourse will be had to the acquisition and culture of land, and to other pursuits tending to dissolve the ties which connect them together as a savage community and to give a new character to every individual. Their civilization is indispensable to their safety."

President John Q. Adams said:

"As independent powers we negotiated with them by treaties; as proprietors we purchased from them all the land which we could prevail upon them sell; as brethren of the human race, rude and ignorant, we endeavored to bring them to the knowledge of religion and letters. The ultimate design was to incorporate in our own institution that portion of them which could be converted to the state of civilization.

"We have been far more successful in the acquisition of their lands than in imparting to them the principles or inspiring them with the spirit of civilization. But in appropriating to ourselves their hunting grounds we have brought upon ourselves the obligation of providing for them with subsistence, and when we have had the rare good fortune of teaching them the arts of civilization and the doctrines of Christianity, we have unexpectedly found them forming in the midst of ourselves communities claiming to be independent of ours and rivals of sovereignty within the territories of the members of our Union.

"This state of things requires that a remedy should be provided, a remedy which, while it shall do justice to those unfortunate children of nature, may secure to the members of our confederation their rights of sovereignty and of soil."

President Jackson said:

"While professing a desire to civilize and settle the Indian we have

at the same time lost no opportunity to purchase their lands and thrust them further into the wilderness—two policies wholly incompatible. By this treatment they have not only been kept in a wandering state but been allowed to look upon us as unjust and indifferent to their fate. Thus, though lavish in expenditure upon the subject, Government has constantly defeated its own policy, and the Indians receding farther and farther have retained their savage habits.

"If they submit to the laws of our State, receiving like other citizens protection in their person and property they will, ere long, become merged in the mass of our population. If they refuse to assimilate they are doomed to weakness and decay."

President Grant said:

"The proper treatment of the original occupants of this continent, the Indians, is one deserving of careful study. I will favor any course toward them which tends to their civilization and ultimate citizenship."

President Cleveland said:

"The conscience of the people demands that the Indians within our boundaries shall be fairly and honestly treated as wards of the Government and their education and civilization promoted with a view to their ultimate citizenship.

"I would rather have my administration marked by a sound and honorable Indian policy than by anything else."

Governor Seymour of New York said:

"Every human being born upon our continent or who comes here from any quarter of the world, whether savage or civilized, can go to our courts for protection, except those who belonged to the tribes who once owned this country. The cannibals from the islands of the Pacific, the worst criminals from Europe, Asia, or Africa, can appeal to law and courts for their rights of person and property—all, save our native Indians, who, above all, should be protected from wrong."

Bishop Whipple said: "Indians are the noblest of the savage nations, and more susceptible than any other to Christianizing influences."

The Analectic Magazine for February, 1813, said:

"It has been the lot of the unfortunate aborigines of this country to be doubly wronged by the white man, first, driven from their native soil by the sword of the invader and then darkly slandered by the pen of the historian. The former has treated them like the beasts of the forest; the latter has written volumes to justify him in his outrages.

"The former found it easier to exterminate than to civilize; the latter to abuse than to discriminate. The hideous appellations of savage and pagan were sufficient to sanction the deadly hostilities of both; and the poor wanderers of the forest were persecuted and dishonored, not because they were guilty but because they were ignorant."

John Adams, in a letter to Thomas Jefferson on the 28th of June, 1812, gives this as his expression of the value of any research to discover the origin of the Indians:

"Whether serpents' teeth were sown here and sprung up men; whether men and women dropped from the clouds upon this Atlantic Island; whether the Almighty created them here, or whether they immigrated from Europe, are questions of no moment to the present or future happiness of man. Neither agriculture, commerce, manufacturing, fisheries, science, literature, taste, religion, moral nor any other good will be promoted or any evil averted by any discoveries that can be made in answer to these questions."

Mr. Beecher said:

"The common schools are the stomachs of the country in which all people that come to us are assimilated within a generation. When a lion eats an ox the lion does not become an ox but the ox becomes lion. So the immigrants of all races and nations become Americans, and it is a disgrace to our institutions and a shame to our policy to abuse them or drive them away."

I have taken the foregoing from the columns of a little newspaper printed at one of the Indian schools during and prior to 1885. There are those in the audience who worked in the printing office, who set the type, printed, addressed, and sent out over the country the paper containing these great thoughts designed to guide a Nation. A goodly number of those present were under the care of that school and are greatly indebted to the spirit and purpose of the school for what they have become, and who will testify that these declared purposes of the greatest leaders of the Republic were constantly pressed upon them as the guide and rule of their lives. Sentiments accentuating these principles went into every edition of the paper. Let me quote a few:

"We have found that with little training and with an improved knowledge of English and of English ways Indian boys and girls have values sufficient to gain a welcome to our civilized homes, and if the building can only go on it will certainly lead to higher values and homes of their own, and this, too, in the midst of surroundings that will support them and carry them forward to the perfection of civilized life."

"The solution of the Indian problem is to be secured by bringing to bear upon the Indian more than all else the school of experience. If we really desire to civilize him we must surround him with appliances of civilization, just as we teach a boy to swim, not by putting him into water ankle deep, but by sending him into a sufficient quantity of water to enable him to swim. It is not only possible but practicable to envelop Indians, old and young, with such civilizing influ-

ences as will make them all useful and civilized. The appliances will have to be ample and in many cases very strong. Education should be enforced when necessary."

"The great trouble is that we hold our Indians on reservations, segregated and away from the opportunities that make and keep all others well civilized and useful. We educate some and then we kill the life and hope that we have put into them by sending them back to their segregated and reservation life. The German, the Irish, and man of every other nation, goes where he likes in this country, but the Indian even by our so-called education receives no encouragement to go anywhere or be anything else but an Indian."

"The point to be reached in Indian educational work is the placing of all the youth in schools and yet have no Indian schools. Purely Indian schools of any and every sort either on or off reservations will never complete the work. The necessary broadening of experience and competition is lacking. Our every message to the Indians is 'You are a separate people and must so remain. You may improve a little in your civilization and your affairs generally, but you must remain tribal Indians.' There will be no complete success until we break up this seclusion and give to them the same rights we give to the people of every other nation."

"Individual ability and individual accountability should be the aim of every school and every industrial and other effort for the Indian."

"Always keeping the Indian from the tests of civilization and citizenship never produces anything of real value to them or to us."

"At least fifty industrial schools for Indian youth, with 300 to 500 students each, should be established at once at points sufficiently remote from their reservations to insure regular attendance of pupils. These should be in industrious communities, and the children, as rapidly as they can be prepared, should be placed in good families to learn, practically, agriculture and the other industries of civilized life, and to attend the public schools with the children of our own race, in which they find welcome everywhere."

"If we do not educate Indian children to our civilized life their parents will continue to educate them to their aboriginal life."

"The Indian tribes, languages, and reservations are combinations against the first law announced to man at the creation, directing him to be fruitful, multiply, and replenish the earth. They are in every way inimical to the Indian because they stand as a wall separating him from the knowledge and industry which is the only sure life and health of men."

"The day of real progress for the Indian will begin when each Indian becomes an individual and an organized unit in himself to make

the most of himself that he can. It does not appear from either the present or past conditions that tribal units, organizations, languages, or characteristics are calculated in any degree to forward the civilization or well-being of the individual Indian."

"One of the greatest hindrances to the Indian in his transit from barbarism to civilization is his entire exclusion from the experiences of practical civilized life. Unless we can make our Indian school systems build Indian children out of and away from the experiences of aboriginal life into the experiences of civilized life in all its varied forms and competitions, we shall not succeed in making capable citizens. Experience and full opportunity to compete and compare is the most important school."

"We shall end our Indian problem not by feeding our civilized life to the Indians but by feeding the Indians to our civilized life. If we are to have one people in one home one must absorb the other. In this case there is no question which."

These utterances of the long ago are far more pertinent now than they were originally because all Indian schools and all Indian management have been whipped into line to contribute their results to the tribe instead of to the Nation. I trust that my bringing these old views before you will be accepted as a fulfilment of my promise to occupy twenty minutes. My feeling about it is that I could not offer anything just now that would be more timely.

The fatality of violence and the disease and death born of hopelessness and mistreatment are strewn abundantly all along the trail of our dealing with the Indian, not through any fault or weakness of the Indian, or because real civilization harms in any way, but solely because we have not listened to and been guided by the Golden Rule methods our greatest Presidents urged.

We have levied taxes upon our own people, raised and expended on account of the Indians five hundred millions of dollars, catering to a false system of control which forces them to continue in tribal masses. We continue to enlarge this indurating system at increased expense, refusing to listen to the wisdom of the fathers, and are decoyed by the voice of many sirens who live and fatten on exploiting and consolidating Indianism under many guises.

All men of every race are born blank. What is writ into them or omitted to be writ after birth is what makes them capable or leaves them a burden. Parents, guardians, and the Government are responsible for the writing and its quality and intention.

Let me in closing submit for your pondering what Lowell through Hosea Biglow said: "The great American idea is to make a man a man, and then to let him be."

*The Assimilation of the American Indian**

By FAYETTE AVERY MCKENZIE

Ohio State University

TO THE descriptive scientist who paints his way through the series of race conflicts—through the history-long tragedy of the contacts of conqueror and conquered—there comes an artistic glow as he contemplates the relation of the white man and the red man in the United States. If such a scientist were here he might delude his academic soul into the belief or hope that learned phrase and happy illustration would lull him to-day into the elysium of gentle but pleasing uselessness. But such if not the desire or intent of the writer of this paper. The topic in his mind is concrete and involves action. It is summed up in two phrases: (1) the obligation of the Nation to the Indian, and (2) the obligation of the universities in general, and of the sociologists in particular, to furnish the scientific basis for the Indian policies of the Nation.

The first basis scarcely needs comment; we have forced upon the Indians the status of wards, and therefore cannot divest ourselves of the responsibilities which devolves upon trustees and guardians. The second thesis must remain in abeyance until we have assurance that there are sociological principles which are applicable and of imperative importance. This paper therefore rests upon the first thesis of national obligation as one conceded, and leads to the second thesis of university obligation as a corollary of the general contents of the paper itself. But it cannot be understood except in relation to these two dominant ideas.

My topic really is the topic of the Indian problem of to-day. As a Nation we are at least ostensibly engaged in the progress of assimilating the Indian. This is fundamentally a sociological problem, but what interest have the sociologists taken in it? It may be that limited knowledge or permanent introspection has given me a false notion, but you will allow me to say that my voice seems to me like the voice of one crying in the wilderness, with almost no response from the ranks of those who should long ago have done the great work which would have made my humble endeavors unnecessary.

I want if I can to sum a situation, and to place upon my hearers something of the great sense of responsibility and duty which has been

*From an address delivered before the American Sociological Society, Minneapolis session, 1913. Reprinted by permission of the *American Journal of Sociology*.

with me almost constantly for the last ten years. Perhaps any one of you could have solved the problem alone in that space of time, but I warn you that my weakness or little success will be no excuse for your inaction in the future. I trust that the imperative in my tone may not seem offensive. No one more than I realizes the killing pace that is set for the sociologist. But he that hath eyes let him see, and him that hath ears let him hear. The possibility of salvation for the Indian races lies in the hands of those who have vision and hearing. If there be any imperative resting upon the sociologist it will not be because I presume to pronounce it, but because he both sees and hears and is a sociologist.

In passing let me say my views are wrought out of my own experience. My theory has been hammered out on the slow anvil of some actual endeavor and some direct association with the people I would serve. Incidentally, it might not be amiss to suggest that one of the great reasons for direct service on our part in the social movements of the world is that we may rectify, if not actually create, the splendid body of theory which we are to transmit to our students. It is very questionable whether theory uncontaminated by endeavor remains good theory. It takes years of patience before you can begin to know an Indian, and therefore before you can begin to get first-hand knowledge of the *human unit* of your problem.

A well-worn formula tells us that when two races come together the fate of the weaker is summed up as extermination, subordination, or amalgamation. As a matter of fact history would suggest a judicious mixture of all three. Nevertheless, a fourth object has been evident on the part of the conquering Caucasian from the days of the first discovery of America. Missionary objects have been to the front. The missionary believes in assimilation—either in time or in eternity. But the efforts of the missionaries for three hundred years—shall I say four hundred years?—have seemed to be the efforts of those who write upon the sands of the shore of the sea. The disappearance of the tribes from the days of Eliott in Massachusetts to those of Zeisberger in Ohio has constituted a tragedy which has almost no acknowledged explanation. The optimism of Eliott shines to-day against a background of almost complete failure, so far as bringing his Indians into the permanent life of the United States is concerned. Zeisberger's personal experience sums up the point I wish to make. On Christmas Day, 1788, he wrote in his diary: "The chief thing which gives us joy and courage is this, that the Gospel . . . is not preached in vain. . . . It opens the hearts and ears of the dead and blind heathen and brings them life and feeling." His biographer tells us, how-

ever, in the end that Zeisberger's life "seems a sad one. It was his fate to labor among a hopeless race. In his last years he could see no lasting monument of his long labor. Even the Indian converts immediately about him were a cause of sorrow to him." Zeisberger's permanent Indian villages in Ohio have long been forgotten. From the point of view of incorporation into the life of the Nation, Zeisberger's efforts must be acknowledged a failure.

We have no time at this point to state or to discuss the reasons for this fact; we do not affirm or deny that the fault lay with the missionary. It is sufficient to say that, in accordance with the general rule, despite the white men's religion, the red men died away in the presence of the white man's civilization. And yet we may say that gradually or rapidly policies of extermination and subjugation overrode the efforts of religion. Missionary endeavor did not have a free field to prove itself. The soldier and the merchant rode with the missionary and made themselves not less evident to the Indians than did he.

The ever-growing friction between the races reached its climax in the middle of the nineteenth century. The cost in money and lives was enormous. Down to 1866 our Government had spent half a billion of dollars on Indian wars. We killed off Indians at a cost of a million apiece. The relative futility of war strengthened the hands of the believers in assimilation as opposed to extermination, and so we have in Grant's administration the beginning of the "peace policy."

The first Board of Indian Commissioners intrusted with the inauguration of this new policy struck the first clear note of governmental philosophy which we find. Their altruistic devotion and their business capacity have long been recognized. Their scientific insight, however, will constitute their greatest claim to a place in history, when history is correctly written. They believed that assimilation was possible, but that it would come about only through the living together of the two races. The initial step in the upward movement lay in the bestowal of a common language. Education then was the keynote, and to-day it remains the keynote of any scientific policy. The salvation of the race and the efficiency of any Indian policy are equally dependent upon it. Doubtless the board relied a little too strongly upon the power of language, but yet it remains substantially true that difference in language bars intercourse and mutual understanding, and so preserves both the differences in customs and the artificial antipathies which hold the races apart.

The "peace policy" in most of its practical details was built up out of many bits of endeavor made during colonial and later days, and it was defended and utilized for very utilitarian objects. The Secretary

of the Interior on this latter point filed his belief that it would be "cheaper to feed every adult Indian now living, even to sleepy surfeiting—than it would be to carry on a general Indian war for a single year." Thus as a matter of fact a policy of stimulation has all too frequently become a policy of pauperization. Assimilation has been replaced or supplemented by slow extermination. Peace became an object in itself rather than the instrument of progress.

Francis Walker in 1874 declared that the "peace policy," at least in its actual working, was not a policy, but a mere expediency. No great constructive advance had been made. He maintained, on the contrary, that the act of 1834 which provided for segregation of Indians and for Indian self-government "was the outcome of a sound and far-reaching statesmanship." The "peace policy" as supplemented by the Congressional resolution ending the recognition of Indian tribes as nations "struck the severest blow that remained to be given to the policy of 1834, in that it weakened the already waning power of the chiefs, while yet failing to furnish any substitute for their authority."

Possibly we may say to-day that the two great results that accrued from the "peace policy" were the ending of Indian wars and the new impetus given to Indian education. The next period began about 1887. Not until 1876 had the appropriation for education reached \$20,000, but in 1886 it passed one million. In 1887 the Dawes Act marked the new era in its provisions for bringing about individual allotments of Indian land and for the admission of Indian allottees into citizenship. Along with these movements there came a demand for the "vanishing policy," a phrase which was intended to mean that discriminations and privileges peculiar to the Indian should as rapidly as possible be done away, and he should at the same rate be admitted to full citizenship and equal opportunity to share in the economic, legal, and political life of the country. Carried to its logical limits the "vanishing policy" goes a long ways along the path of assimilation.

To-day with the churches increasingly active, with the Government appropriation for education running close to \$4,000,000, with individualized holdings of land, and with citizenship an accompaniment of such holdings, you will tell me that assimilation is surely provided for, if not already achieved. I recite these things, however, that you may discriminate between the form and substance of things.

Consider with me, if you will, three groups of facts, those of blood mixture, of legal status, and of education. We shall then have a suggestion, if not a measurement, of the extent to which assimilation has gone.

With regard to blood we shall follow the facts as analyzed by

Roland B. Dixon, of the Census Bureau. Since 1890 the Indian population has increased from 248,000 to 265,000, or about 7 per cent. Of the present population Dr. Dixon reports 58.4 per cent as full-bloods and 35.2 per cent as mixed-bloods, 8.4 per cent being unknown as to blood. Doubtless the mixed-bloods are more numerous than they will acknowledge, but in any event we may say they constitute at least two-fifths of the total Indian population. Moreover, mixed marriages are more often fertile, result in a larger number of children per family, and a larger proportion of these children survive. Dr. Dixon believes that "unless the tendencies now at work undergo a decided change the full-bloods are destined to form a decreasing proportion of the total Indian population and ultimately to disappear altogether."

It is probably safe to say that so far as the blood of the race is to survive it will survive through amalgamation. But amalgamation is not assimilation. An Indian in the eyes of the law continues to be an Indian until the proportion of Indian blood is very slight indeed, and his own insistence upon his Indian blood continues still longer. From the social point of view the mixture of bloods has little significance. The blood that determines the legal status and social environment is the blood that tells. Ofttimes the mixed-blood is farther from, not nearer to, social assimilation than is the full-blood. Even the adopted white man is cut off from white civilization to a greater or less extent. Law and custom are stronger than blood. Complexion, real or imputed, is for the Indian a barrier which he scarcely may surmount so long as law and custom remain unchanged. But when law and custom are satisfactorily changed, the fact of physical amalgamation will greatly accelerate the process of real assimilation.

The legal and political status of the Indian is particularly unfortunate. Tens of thousands of Indians have been allotted. Most, but not all, of these are nominally citizens. Custom and Congressional action have given citizenship to tens of thousands of others. For purposes of Congressional representation 73 per cent of all our Indians are accredited as "taxed" Indians. In all the United States there are only 71,872 not so taxed. This certainly looks like rapid if not complete assimilation. But I beg you to look again past the form to the substance. Let me quote my own analysis of the situation as given in the *Journal of Race Development* a year ago:

There is no necessary connection between taxation and citizenship. The Indian may swell the population for the Congressional district, he may be counted a taxable, and yet be substantially and, apparently, legally, debarred from citizenship. No one knows to-day what the status of the Indian is. Even such facts as we do know present such a diversity of situation in the different States that no general statement can be made for like classes in different parts of

the country. But this might be condoned if the status of the Indian in each State was understood either by him or by the general public. Doubtless even Congressional enumeration as "taxed" carries an Indian (if only he knows he is one of the number so classed) far along the road to citizenship; he becomes relatively at least a "potential" citizen. . . .

So long, however, as we have taxed Indians and non-taxed Indians, citizen Indians and non-citizen Indians, independent Indians and Indian wards, and so long as we have every sort of combination of these classes, and further, so long as we have neither certainty as to classification nor definiteness as to the status when named, just so long we shall continue to have a condition of confusion in Indian affairs intolerable alike to Government and Indian. Indians of like capability and situation are citizens in Oklahoma and non-citizens in New York. Allottees are citizens in Nebraska and non-citizens in Wyoming. In many cases in the same State some of the allottees are citizens while others are not.

I know an Indian admitted to practice law before the Supreme Court of the United States who was compelled to appear before an agent for examination as to his competence to manage his own property. That agent later went to the penitentiary for graft. Do you wonder that the Indians resent the impossible situation and the perpetual humiliation in which they are involved? Do you call this assimilation?

The situation with regard to education is very similar. The expenditures for Indian schools as compared with the general Indian budget has increased from one-half of 1 per cent in 1877 to 26.9 per cent. I believe that this proportion should continue to increase. Of the 88,000 Indian youth, 50,000 or 56.3 per cent are to-day found in some school. Of the children between ten and fourteen years of age, 71.4 per cent are in school; 71.2 per cent of all Indians can speak some English, and 45.4 per cent can read and write to some extent. The ability of the youth to speak English rises to 84.2 per cent and ability to read and write rises to 77.2 per cent.

I consider it a great achievement to have effected so complete an introduction to the educational system of our civilization. But we must in all honesty recognize that it is for the great mass of Indians merely an introduction. An Indian attorney, now well known and prosperous, last year in a public address in Columbus gave us a most interesting bit of personal experience when he told us what an amazing impression he had of the English language and of our civilization after years of attendance upon our Government schools. It is our rule to require the youth to go to school until they are eighteen, and not infrequently they continue in school until they are twenty-five or more, and yet the advanced Government school is a grammar school. The great mass of the children get very much less. No attempt is here made to appraise the industrial training given in the Indian schools.

My object is simply to reveal the inadequacy of the schooling to prepare the Indian for successful competition in the world of business affairs and for a genuine participation in the thought and aspirations of our civilization. Is it any wonder we are afraid to trust an Indian with full control of his land and property?

Let us stop a moment and summarize. The Indian race is fast reducing the purity of its blood, but the Indian blood predominates and holds the succeeding generations out of the national thought and out of Caucasian social control. No one is free until he shares in the thought which controls his social life. The mixed blood in custom and tradition is Indian, or raceless, which is worse. The Indian has no defined status. Taxed, he may or may not be a citizen. If taxed, or even if a citizen, he may have few or none of the privileges and immunities of a citizen; he may not—ordinarily he does not—have the control of his property. If he is not a citizen, he is incompetent to sue or be sued, and is not even a competent witness in court. Even whole tribes of Indians, every individual of which may be nominally a citizen, have no standing in court, and have no right to sue for their claims, even in the United States Court of Claims. And in the third place, though we spend on an average about \$100 per year on every Indian child in the Government schools, and demand from them not less than twelve years, and sometimes hold them far beyond their majority, yet the limited few who get an advanced education do not by the Government policy go beyond the eight grade of our public schools.

Now may I state my thesis? The Indians are *not* assimilated. The assimilation of one race into another and surrounding race means bringing them into a full share in the life and thought of the latter. They must become constituent parts of the Nation. They must be units of the new society. John S. Mackenzie, in his *Introduction to Social Philosophy*, has stated the point I wish to make in these words:

When a people is conquered and subject to another, it ceases to be a society, except in so far as it retains a spiritual life of its own apart from that of its conquerors. Yet it does not become an integral part of the victorious people's life until it is able to appropriate to itself the spirit of that life. So long as the citizens of the conquered state are merely in the condition of atoms externally fitted into a system to which they do not naturally belong, they cannot be regarded as parts of the society at all. They are slaves; they are instruments of a civilization of which they do not partake. Certainly no more melancholy fate can befall a nation than that it should be subjected to another whose life is not large enough to absorb its own. But such a subjection cannot be regarded as a form of social growth. It is only one of those catastrophes by which a society may be destroyed. In so far as there is growth in such a case, it is still a growth from within. The conquering society must be able to extend its own life outward, so as gradually to absorb the conquered one into itself; otherwise

the latter cannot be regarded as forming a real part of it at all, but at most as an instrument of its life, like cattle and trees.

I maintain that the Indian has not been incorporated into our national life, and cannot be until we radically change a number of fundamental things. We must give him a defined status, early citizenship and control of his property, adequate education, efficient government and schools, broad and deep religious training, and genuine social recognition. We must give him full rights in our society and demand from him complete responsibility. There is not time to-day to put these principles into a concrete program. The important thing is to recognize and publish the principles.

The Indian to-day, the great mass of them, are still a broken and beaten people, scattered and isolated, cowed and disheartened, confined and restricted, pauperized and tending to degeneracy. They are a people without a country, strangers at home, and with no place to which to flee. I know that there are thousands of exceptions to these statements, but yet they remain true for the great majority. The greatest injustice we do them is to consider them inferior and incapable. The greatest barrier to their restoration to normality and efficiency lies in their passivity and discouragement. We have broken the spring of hope and ambition. Can it ever be repaired?

It is readily to be seen that success will depend upon the accurate utilization or release both of external forces and of internal forces. The white race through government, industry, and religion must do its full part, and the red race through initiative and race leadership must also do its full part. I cannot make too clear, definite, or positive my belief that this problem is an exceedingly delicate one, and my belief that *failure is inevitable unless just the right policies are initiated very soon and carried on and carried through on the basis of maximum efficiency.*

The simple test of efficiency for us is, Are we giving the Indian identical or equal opportunity with ourselves to share in and to control the social consciousness, as well as to share in the privileges, immunities, duties, and obligations of the members of our national social body? This is the only goal worth while in assimilation. I grant you that public opinion is very far from this point of view and belief. The question for us is, Do sociologists agree with it?

How shall Congress and the Nation believe except they be taught? And who shall teach except those who have set themselves apart to study these things? If the body of sociologists could agree upon the theory and would express themselves individually and collectively,

they could exert an immense influence at this particular critical moment. The hour is ripe and conditions are propitious for a considerable forward step—if only those who can speak with authority will speak. They must secure a consistent governmental practice, and guide public policy through the formulation of sound theory and the organization of a wise public opinion.

Long ago I became convinced that the Indian problem could not be solved without the initiative and co-operation of the Indian himself. When the Government has done all that it can, there still remains the stimulation and development of internal forces to be effected. Race leadership must be found or the race will fail to see the new and better opportunities and will sink to rapid ruin. It used to be said that it would be impossible for Indians to organize and to hold together. Personal jealousies would wreck every endeavor. But the impossible has been done. For three years in succession the Indians have met in national conference, twice at the Ohio State University, and this year in the city of Denver. The conference has grown to a membership of a thousand people, half of them Indians, half of them whites. Indians only are active members and do all the voting. They are publishing a remarkable quarterly journal, and if properly supported bid fair to do a work of great significance. Their Denver platform is of a quality which will compel national attention. Out of great sacrifice and labor this new force emerges. Shall we not welcome it and give it every possible support?

For us, duties divide into those imperative for the moment and those which relate to the future. We have our obligations toward pending legislation and in the support of the splendid efforts of the society of American Indians.

For the future we must set ourselves the task of continuous education of the public that every correct endeavor shall be protected and aided to the point where it achieves its proper and logical results. All of us can share in this task. But should not some of our great universities go farther? Ought there not to be one or more endowments created to establish chairs of race development with particular reference to the native race of the American continent? We have eminent professors who as anthropologists, ethnologists, and historians study the Indian of the past. Should we not have men who can devote themselves to the problem of the Indian as he is now, and to the problem of the means by which he may realize his highest possibilities as a citizen and fellow worker? Such studies should mean vast things, not only for the United States, but for the uncounted millions of native

Americans in the countries to the south of us. The Nation and the continent call for this great new chair in sociology. Do we not owe this to the people we have so largely dispossessed?

I close with an appeal for your help in the cause of the Indian. However great or small you may think that help will be, it may be the force of which will determine whether the scales shall turn in the direction of wisdom or unwisdom, of salvation or ruin, for the race that once ruled the domain from whence comes the wealth and resources with which we build, through our universities, the civilization of the future. With you rests the decision.

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The Spirit the Indian Needs—How It May Be Awakened by Education

By SIMON RED BIRD (*Ottawa*)

IN presenting this paper my first desire is to encourage the active and associate members of this Society to action, for the reason that progress needs to be encouraged by every friend; my second is to stimulate to activity those who have not heretofore been interested in awakening the spirit of progress within the race; my third is to spur to endeavor the melancholy Indian who may feel his race is passing away and to show him the way of true progress; my fourth is to show the need of a higher spirit in all classes of Indians whom we are to awaken, and bring to a better standard of civilization.

Inherent in man is the spirit of progress. It belongs to the fundamental portion of his nature and is an essential of his existence. Without this spirit of progress, man's ambition would wither and die and he would sink into inactivity and nothingness; but inspired and sustained by it, he raises into the full might of a better manhood; and influenced by advancing ideals, he struggles onward toward the goal of his ambition, and to the fulfilment of his mission in life. There are, however, some pessimistic philosophers who oppose this theory of progress; who hold that the present state of civilization is inferior to some past stage of development, and that the race is even now entering upon a more rapid decline which betokens the early and total failure of the race. But I protest it is not so, for as we read the history of the past and interpret the signs of the present, the prophecies of the future are bright.

The need of the race,—education, progress, enlightenment,—point convincingly to a law of progress which is as certain and continuous and inevitable in its action as any of the laws of nature. In religion and philosophy, in government, in art and science, in literature—in fact, in all the other spheres of human activity—it never ceases to operate with constantly uplifting power. So I want to say to you that the spirit of progress and modern civilization is irresistible, and it ought to rest upon the mind of every Indian to say, "I must be civilized if I am to live. I have got to support myself whether I want to or not, because the law of competition compels me, and therefore I am going to take all the advantages which my white neighbor has given me to make myself efficient."

It is not my purpose to address the people who live on the reserva-

tions or people at large, but it is you, as I said in the beginning, the field workers, reformers, who transform the old life. In speaking of "reform" for any community, the word "reform" is not used in any narrow or restricted sense; it is not confined to any particular reform. Reform means "for the better," and a reformer is therefore the one who is trying to improve conditions. There are, in fact, but three classes of people who are not reformers, and it would be a reflection upon you to assume that you are in any one of the three classes. The first class contains those who lack intelligence, who do not know that there are wrongs to be righted and abuses to be removed; in the second class will be found those who know that reform is possible, but who are so hard hearted and indifferent to the welfare of their fellow-men that they do not desire the reforms secured; the third class is made up of those who have a pecuniary interest in the existing abuses, who have their hands in other people's pockets and do not want to be disturbed. I may be a little out of my subject, but I want to satisfy myself.

I have made some actual observations and had experience among our native people, and there is a large percentage of uncivilized Indian population, or almost uncivilized, throughout the West for whose welfare every member of this Society ought to feel the profoundest responsibility. I believe this is so, for the avowed object of this Society is "to promote and cooperate with all efforts looking to the advancement of the Indian in enlightenment which will leave him free as a man to develop according to the natural laws of social evolution."

In past ages man was placed upon this earth a potential monarch by reason of his inherent spirit of progress. Imagine him, at first, if you will, a creature of undeveloped faculties, upon whose mind nothing has been inscribed. Nature and her beauty is meaningless to him, but his respective senses soon arouse him; thus the spirit of progress compels him to investigate. In his attempts to discover the secrets of nature, and to explain the wonderful and mighty process which he daily sees, he soon bows down to worship. Thus, the new religious sense is formed, which is shared by all mankind. He found a new Divine power, and enlarging the first suggestions to his own mind, after ages of struggle, his spirit teaches him of the existence of an omnipotent power, God, the Creator and preserver of all things and the fountain-head of the stream of all good. He now falls down to worship before this new-found Almighty Being that has freed him from fear, and religion becomes a far nobler and better thing, an inspiration and a blessing to him instead of a burden and blight.

I need not tell you what a magnificent country this was when nothing but Nature and Almighty Providence ruled its broad domain, when

the great sun shone upon the surface of this great land of prairie, mountain, and forest. Here the early Americans roamed. The aborigines of America were a people who had no "confining business" to look after, no need of jails, for there were no criminals such as we now have, no asylums for the insane, no drunkenness. There was no scramble for gold and no concentration of power over food and other necessities of life. All the men in those days were strong; the weak were not born to live and suffer. Every man and woman had food and shelter and occupation. No man had to carry insurance, for he knew that his children would have a home after his death, and he knew that there never would be a mortgage upon his property. They were all heroes and heroines in a battle with natural life. There were no "Indians" then, but after Columbus discovered these people he called them Indians. Columbus never knew that he made a great mistake. The first Americans had had certain laws among themselves, but their councils were very simple, for they were all law-abiding people. "Who, then, would want to wreck and plunge these people into the abyss of commercial traffic?" asks a writer. "Who would wish to destroy the wonderful social systems, or blot out the unique arts of these aborigines? Why should the wonderful, intricate governmental systems of the aborigines of America be supplanted by any other political systems? Why, indeed, should any Indian abandon his splendid traditions, his reverent religion, and his picturesque ceremonies for a mess of civilization's pottage which now is almost spoiled? Now, in a word, why should not broad America have room for her native people as they are in their own native state of happiness? Why educate them, Christianize them, and teach them the new arts?" There is a definite reason; the two systems can not live together,—one must go.

The Indian of to-day must not only add to the wealth of the community, but he must also be able to meet the obligations that become necessary as the community grows larger. He must be a patriotic citizen. He must own the property and manage it, and he must be able to do his own work. He must be a productive factor. He must pay taxes on his property and help develop his country. He must help in building school houses in the district where he lives. He must help to build roads. He must have a common education like the average white citizen. He must be moral. He must be clean and know how to take care of his body. When our native brother becomes a full-fledged citizen, he must be a competent citizen and be able to know how to cast his ballot wisely. He must be a law-abiding citizen, and his rights in the community where he lives must be respected and the law must protect him just as much as his white neighbors.

But let us look into this question. It ought to be studied in a most searching manner, and there should be an investigation deep into the condition of the Indians and the localities in which they live. A permanent commission should be appointed and empowered to do this. Members of this commission should be men of prominence who will deal wisely. After this has been authorized, divide the Indians into three classes or groups (or as many classes as will seem fit). First class: The old Indians, or Indians who have no means for their support, have no land, who are unable to earn their livelihood, who have no education. These must remain under the hands of the Government. Second class (this class may be subdivided): Those who are capable of administering their own affairs, who have received their allotments, and, having education and property, are taxpayers. To these we ought to say, "Now you are free." Though a great many of these are not ready to stand on their own feet, yet they must learn. Third class: Children of school age and young people under age. They ought to be well provided for in schools as perfect as the schools which are already existing all through the country. These are the ones we are looking to for the greatest advancement in civilization. Within a few years these will be the leaders of their race. Then encourage especially the graduates and returned students. Watch and guard their future. It ought to be the aim of the Indian Department to care for these, so they may be self-supporting. Find employment for them, if necessary, and guide them along until they are competent to manage their own affairs, so that their training be not wasted.

When everything shall have been sifted through, I am satisfied you will find there is a large number of Indians who without the control of the Government will be ready to take up the burdens and responsibilities of citizenship.

John N. B. Hewitt, Ethnologist

By MARIE L. B. BALDWIN

THE Cayuga County Historical Society of New York recently presented Mr. John N. B. Hewitt, of the Smithsonian Institution, with a medal. The "Complanter medal," which Mr. Hewitt, received, is bestowed every two years to the man who has added most to the knowledge of the Iroquois Indians. The Five Nations, later Six Nations, of the New York Iroquois in many ways were the most remarkable natives of America north of Mexico. Their influence in determining the fate of English colonization saved at a critical moment the Atlantic coast and the country back of it for an English-speaking people. The wonderful governmental policy of the Iroquois makes them one of the marvels of history. The Iroquois had a definite constitution and a stable form of government long before the coming of Europeans. Their military system led them to conquer a greater portion of the country east of the Mississippi and forced many strong tribes to pay tribute.

Even after two centuries of study only a small amount of information is available concerning this nation of Indians. They still hold a portion of their ancient domain in New York, but few persons have been able to obtain accurate information concerning their ancient rites and ceremonies. Mr. Hewitt has been wonderfully successful and obtained more than any other man. In recognition of this he has received the Complanter medal. That Mr. Hewitt is of Indian blood himself, adds to our interest in him, and the following sketch of his career will at least catalog his ancestry and achievements:

John Napoleon Brinton Hewitt was born on the Tuscarora Reservation, in the town of Lewiston, Niagara County, N. Y., December 16, 1859. He is the eldest son of the late Dr. David Brainard Hewitt and Mrs. Harriet Brinton Hewitt. On his father's side he is of Scotch descent, and on his mother's side he is of French-English and Tuscarora Indian blood.

Mr. Hewitt was educated in the public and union schools of the State. In the latter his studies included a classical course, comprising Latin, German, Greek, Spanish, algebra and geometry, and psychology. These studies were preparatory to entering college, but a serious sunstroke in his fourth year prevented his completing the studies necessary for entering college. He reads French fluently and has acquired the ability to translate from the six dialects of the Iroquois, or Six Nations, of New York and Canada. He speaks two of these dialects.

Mr. Hewitt was a farmer and a newspaper correspondent, 1876-

1879; he maintained a private school for young men and for married men on the Tuscarora Reservation, 1877-1879; he acted as amanuensis to Mrs. Erminnie A. Smith, ethnologist, of Jersey City, N. J., 1880-1884; he was employed by the Jersey City Railway Companies, 1884-1885; was with the Adams Express Company, 59 Broadway, New York City, 1885-1886; and became an ethnologist in the Bureau of American Ethnology in the summer of 1886, a position which he still holds.

Soon after taking up his duties in this office he became secretary to the Director, Major J. W. Powell, and to the ethnologist-in-charge, the late Dr. W J McGee. This position he held until the death of Major Powell and the reorganization of the Bureau under Professor W. H. Holmes in 1902.

As adjutant secretary, Mr. Hewitt devoted his time and energy to lexical and grammatic study of the languages of the North American Indians, giving especial attention to the important Iroquoian and Algonquian linguistic stocks; similar close study was also made of the Maya of Central America, and of those of the Malay-Polynesian, the Waiilatpuan, the Shahaptian, the Lutuamian, the Yuman, the Piman, the Serian, and the Waicurán stocks, the last two being made tentatively independent through his studies.

Mr. Hewitt has studied with care and sympathy the myths, legends, tales, and rituals, the civil and religious institutions and the concepts underlying them, the manners and customs briefly, the sociology and the mythology of the Iroquoian, the Muskhogean, and the Algonquian peoples, and, in a comparative way only, those of a number of other peoples.

The results of the studies and researches mentioned above were utilized by Director Powell and Ethnologist-in-Charge McGee in so far as they brought to light new knowledge, and in manuscript are now in the archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and a brief summary of these results were incorporated in the many articles Mr. Hewitt contributed to the Handbook of American Indian, i. e., Bulletin 30 of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Among these manuscripts may be mentioned the following:

"The Cherokee: An Iroquoian Language," a lexical study embodied in a written report consisting of 89 pages of foolscap, made for the Director, July 20, 1887, to settle a doubt that the Cherokee belongs in the Iroquoian stock.

"Genetic Relationship between the Shahaptian Tongues and Those of the Waiilatpuan Stock," a report of 115 typewritten pages, prepared for the Director's use and dated January 30, 1894, showing from the material then available genetic relationship between the tongues compared.

"Genetic Relationship between the Waiilatpuan-Shahaptian Stock [as tentatively established in the report mentioned above] and the Lutuamian Stock of Languages," a report of 144 typewritten quarto pages, prepared for the Director's use and dated June 22, 1894. These two reports show genetic relationship between the stocks mentioned.

"The Maya Languages not Genetically Related to those of Malay-Polynesian Stock," a report of 162 typewritten quarto pages, prepared for the Director's use and dated September 27, 1894, which shows the groundlessness of a conjecture of the late Dr. Cyrus Thomas that there was such a relationship, which was embodied in a comparison of 375 Malay-Polynesian terms.

The Director mentions these several reports in his administrative report accompanying the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Early in 1893 Mr. Hewitt, in collaboration with the late Dr. J. Owen Dorsey, took up the difficult and tedious task of tentatively classifying the more than 1,800 linguistic and other manuscripts then in the Bureau archives, according to tribes, stocks, and authors, by means of wearisome lexical comparison of terms from the manuscripts that were in a majority of instances unsigned, undated, and unidentified. By the death of Dr. Dorsey, early in 1895, this work devolved entirely upon Mr. Hewitt, and it was carried on with other routine office work. The task was tentatively completed in the late autumn of 1896. Later, this rough draft was revised and transferred to library cards for convenient use.

Other manuscripts are as follows:

"A Grammatic Study of the Tarahumari and the Tubari Languages," a work based on linguistic material collected by Dr. Carl Lumholtz, which was transliterated and recorded on library cards, about 2,500 in number.

"A Tuscarora-English Dictionary," on library cards about 13,000 in number.

"Fifty-six Tuscarora Texts," recorded on 306 pages, mostly typewritten, and also six papers of grammatic studies of this dialect, which aggregate 406 pages, or a total of 712 pages in this dialect.

"Seven Mohawk Texts," recorded on 388 pages and also 29 pages of grammatic studies in this dialect.

"Eight Cayuga Texts," recorded on 90 pages.

"Twenty Seneca Texts," recorded on 617 pages, and also two grammatic studies of this dialect, aggregating 135 pages.

"Onondaga Texts and Rituals," aggregating 821 pages quarto, typewritten matter.

One Delaware text of 40 pages.

"Five Chippewa Cosmogonic Legends in Native Text," aggregating 85 pages. More or less extensive vocabularies of Wyandot or Huron, Mohawk, Seneca, Onondaga, Cayuga, Tuscarora, Cheyenne, Yakima, Delaware, Tutelo, Penobscot, Klamath, Papago, Nez Perce, and Mosquito languages. Also material for a monograph on the "League of the Iroquois," for which Mr. Hewitt has in hand over 1,500 pages of native texts in Mohawk and Onondaga and in Cayuga, embodying the constitution and the structure of the league, the general and fundamental laws of its polity, its sociology, kinship rights, and government, its ceremonials, rituals, and the long chants and addresses of the condolence and installation convention of the league. Also material for a monograph on the festivals, thanksgiving assemblies, and the New Year ceremonies, during which a white dog is burned. This work is to include the rich and expressive music of the Iroquois, their games, medicine, and secret societies. Of this material there is in hand 350 pages of Onondaga text, typewritten on small folio pages. Also the second part of Mr. Hewitt's "Iroquoian Cosmology," for which he has in hand 315 pages of Onondaga text, typewritten on large quarto sized sheets, and a tentative translation of this text of 200 typewritten quarto pages.

The foregoing are in manuscript form, and are not complete nor ready for publication; some were prepared primarily for the information of the Director and not for publication. Consult the administrative report in the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The only papers published by the Bureau for Mr. Hewitt are the "Comparative Lexicology of the Yuman, the Serian, and the Waicuri Languages," in the Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part I, 1898. In this work Mr. Hewitt sought to demonstrate from the material then available that the Seri and Waicuri do not belong to the Yuman stock, in which the late Dr. Brinton had included them, and that the Seri forms a linguistic stock by itself, and that the Waicuri should be regarded as an independent stock until shown to belong elsewhere. And in the introduction to this lexical study (pp. 300-301) Mr. Hewitt, all too briefly, perhaps, propounds the theory that the pronominal (or pronominal) elements in human speech are in linguistic development antecedent to the evolution of the notional or conceptual material, which, if true, contravenes among other things the popular but misleading definition of a pronoun in school grammars.

"Iroquoian Cosmology," embracing Onondaga, Seneca, and Mohawk versions of the common Genesis myth-cycle of the Iroquoian

peoples, in the Twenty-First Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1903.

The following are the unofficial publications of Mr. Hewitt:

"Iroquois Superstitions," *American Anthropologist*, vol. iii, 1890; "The Etymology of Two Iroquoian Compound Stems," namely, —*ske*'*rakeqte*' and —*ndutakeqte*', both denoting warrior, in *Science*, vol. xix, No. 478, 1892; "Legend of the Founding of the Iroquois League," *American Anthropologist*, vol. v, 1892; "Is the Polysynthesis of Duponceau Characteristic of American Indian Language?" *Proceedings A. A. A. S.*, vol. xlii, 1894; "Polysynthesis in the Languages of the American Indians," *American Anthropologist*, vol. vi, October, 1893; "Era of the Formation of the Historic League of the Iroquois," *American Anthropologist*, vol. vii, 1894; "The Iroquoian Concept of the Soul," *Journal Am. Folklore*, Boston, 1895, pp. 107-166; "Cosmogonic Gods of the Iroquois," *Proceedings A. A. A. S.*, xliv, Salem, 1896; "Grammatic Form and the Verb Concept in Iroquoian Speech," (Abstract), *ibid*; "The Name Cherokee and its Derivation," in *Am. Anthropologist*, new series, vol. ii, 1900; "Orenda and a Definition of Religion," in *Am. Anthropologist*, new series, vol. iv, 1902; "The Indian's History, His Ideas, His Religion, His Mythology, and His Social Organization," an address published in *The Red Man*, vol. v, No. 3, 1912.

There are more than 75 important articles contributed by Mr. Hewitt to the "Handbook of American Indians," which is Bulletin 30 of the publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

During the past two years Mr. Hewitt has been engaged chiefly in editing and annotating the Seneca material collected by the late Mr. Jeremiah Curtin for publication in the near future; he has also edited his own Seneca texts, supplying them with both free and interlinear translations.

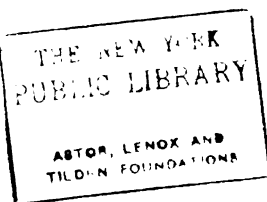
From time to time Mr. Hewitt has prepared and has read papers on various themes before the Anthropological Society of Washington. Mr. Hewitt has been for many years a member of this society, and for the past three years has been its treasurer; and for a number of years he was its vice-president on philology. He was also one of the founding members of the American Anthropological Association. He is also an active member of the Society of American Indians.

On February 28, 1914, the Cayuga County Historical Society conferred on Mr. Hewitt the "Cornplanter Medal for Iroquois Research," to which Mr. Hewitt is justly entitled. Perhaps no other Cornplanter medal holder will ever contribute so much as Mr. Hewitt has to this special study.



J. N. B. HEWITT

**Ethnologist of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Cornplanter
Medalist, and former member of the Executive Council
Society of American Indians**



I Make Talk to White Man, His Government

By JOE MACK IGNATIUS, *Pottawatomie*

THERE used to be three brothers before White Man came to our country,—the Chippewa, the Kickapoo, and the Pottawatomie—and we are yet to-day, and you, Government, has got our general fund yet. So now I talk to him, that man, you call him Government.

Why don't you give it to us so we could build school houses and shops of all trades? White man used to be afraid of it Indian, some years ago but it is not the same now of Indian. You don't afraid it now. We afraid your law. We can't understand what it mean. You can't neither, so you make job for graft lawyer tell you. So you pay,—we too. We now like to be protected under Government now as long as sun shines, just as you said when you raised your right hand to God in your treaty. Those three brothers used to protect white man those days when he scairt; and there used to be some bad Indians and some good Indians, just the same as you are to-day,—some good white man, some bad white man. Those three brothers believe in God Spirit is the reason they don't head you off in first place. Where is this Government going to get money to pay us for our country long as sun shines? That all tax money one half ought to belong to all the tribes in the United States, help you pay up.

If the Government should turn us Indians loose where are the children and those unborn going to get their share of this country that belongs to them too? I guess there will be an end of the world, because you said "so long as sun shine" when you raise your right hand to God, and now you are tearing up reservation before the twenty-five years* is up. We think it is not true, your promises. You have been grafting ever since you first made treaty with our forefathers and to this day. That is the reason we afraid your law. You might make us pay back tax since time discover us. Nobody know what you do if you turn us loose and we don't want get mix up other countries and nations.

You Government making big guns and war ships. You have to use them yourselves, not us Indians. If United States get whipped some day some one else will take this country and we will be under them. Too bad, that, so better be honest now, so you pay, we too.

I will try tell you of the condition of our country to-day. We are the real American people and we want the rights that we never got from the white people yet. They forgot promise, keep change mind every few days, so we never know what our law rights are. So we better be find out for sure so Government he know and Indian he know.

*Meaning the twenty - five years trust period during which land allotments can not be alienated.

In the Editorial Sanctum

Money Wanted—Good Investment

THE Society of American Indians has been practicing its own preaching. It has kept on doing without thought of reward.

The time has come, however, when bills must be met, for everything seems to cost money. The Society gets no money from the Government; its membership dues do not pay one-half the expense. A few members have always made up the deficit. It occurs to your officers now that there are members and friends who would be glad for an opportunity to invest in a great cause.

Seven hundred dollars are needed to settle the current debt. None of this money goes to pay a penny of salary for an officer. Even your President and Secretary receive no salaries. They work for you in order that you may be better enabled to perform your duties as men and Americans, in order that the rights of the Indian may be conserved and the honor of the race upheld. We wish to feel that our friends and our members are living forces for good and that they believe in supporting their Society. We have the confidence of people everywhere. A Danish writer who is a member has sent us \$10 as a contribution. Many of our friends and members have given equal or greater amounts. Here, then, is a chance to do some real good. We want thirty friends to donate \$25 each. Read the following letter from a man who has given us hundreds of dollars and put his very soul into our welfare at great sacrifice to himself:

*On Board The S. S. Chicago,
Mid-Ocean, July 15, 1914.*

To the Members of the Society of American Indians:

On the broad ocean with my face toward Europe and expecting to be absent from your councils for more than a year, may I not venture to send a greeting and suggestion? The welfare of the Society is never far from my thoughts. I trust that it may never lower its standards, that it may unwaveringly stand by its platform and policies thus far announced, and that it will strengthen itself in unity and in the approval in the conscience and intelligence of the Nation. Stability of action and rectitude of purpose are the great and essential assets of the Society.

Your officers tell me that the expenses of the Society have exceeded the income by about \$700. This is not a large sum for a national organization, but it is a handicap that ought not to exist. The fact that

this debt is being carried by three or four persons does not reflect credit upon the rest of us who should do our share. It should be distributed over goodly number of us so that we might feel the responsibility which properly rests upon us. Let us wipe the debt off the books by September 30th. This Society ought to be and shall be free from all unnecessary obligations to individuals. It must not place unfair burdens upon them. If thirty of us will contribute \$25 each toward the fund, this debt, incurred for our common benefit, will be gone. I shall be glad to be one of thirty. Who will be the other twenty-nine? With a clean slate we shall be ready for greater things in the future.

In all sincerity, yours,

J. A. McKenzie

The Murderer of Desoto Tiger Caught

Down in Florida three days after Christmas, 1911, a thrifty, well-respected Indian of the Seminole band was murdered. The motive was robbery. The murderer was John Ashley, a whisky trader. Florida did nothing to convict the murderer. Our attention was called to the tragedy by M. Raymond Harrington and by Alanson Skinner, both associate members of this Society, and by Joseph (Tahan) Griffiths, all of whom had investigated the matter on the spot. An urgent appeal was sent out by Mrs. Minnie Moore Wilson, of Kissimee, Fla., asking for help in bringing about justice. Indeed, our 1912 platform contained an item petitioning the authorities of Florida to get the murderer.

After all this time and delay something has happened. The murderer is in irons. The story of his capture reveals the lengths the new administration is willing to go once it sees the point. From that energetic paper, *The New Republic*, we extract the dispatch found below:

"The capture of the murderer and outlaw, John Ashley, some days ago, not far from this place, [West Palm Beach, Fla.]" says *The New Republic*, "indicates the determination of the present administration of Indian affairs to see that justice is done the Indian and wrongs heaped on him avenged.

"On December 28, 1911, Desoto Tiger, a full-blood Seminole Indian, was murdered and his body thrown into a canal about thirty-five miles from Ft. Lauderdale in this State.

"Tiger was a thrifty, respectable, and influential Indian, much beloved by Seminole people and well liked by the white people generally.

"It appears that Tiger had eighty-four valuable otter hides, which he had accumulated and was about to market them. A white scoundrel named John Ashley appears to have supplied the Indians with liquor. At any rate, they secured the liquor and were drinking heavily.

"The next thing was the natural one. Tiger's dead body was fished out of the canal and John Ashley went to Miami and sold Tiger's eighty-four hides for \$580, after which he went on a drunk and disappeared.

"Jim Gopher, a Seminole friend of Tiger's, swore out a warrant for the arrest of Ashley for the murder, but Tiger was 'only an Indian' and the local officers were in no hurry. Another reason why they were in no hurry was because Ashley was a 'gun man' and they didn't propose to bother about doing full duty as long as there was serious danger in it.

"Inasmuch as Tiger was not legally a ward of the Government the Indian Office had no legal jurisdiction, and thus the matter dragged along. But, in the meantime, Ashley, who had taken to the jungles, occasionally appeared and held somebody up, Mexican style, and relieved them of their money. This aroused the white people somewhat, but the local officials were unable to get Ashley.

"In this shape the attention of Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells was called to the murder. Red tape was cut quick and clean in two. 'Get Ashley' was the command that Sells put up to Chief Officer Henry A. Larson. He didn't say to Larson 'arbitrate the case.' He didn't say 'use your influence to see that justice is done.' He didn't say 'urge the local officers to do their duty.' He said: '*Get Ashley*,' and Larson didn't have to be told twice.

"T. E. Brents, or 'Ed.' Brents, one of the old Indian Territory 'bunch' of the Service, was detailed on the case with instructions to 'get Ashley.' With his rifle, and pockets full of hard tack, Brents came to Florida, plunged alone into the swamps, and chased Ashley for weeks, sleeping on the bare ground, subsisting on hard tack and wild berries, and drinking out of the sand ponds. The Everglades of Florida is the most difficult place in the world to catch an outlaw, but it is in the most difficult place in the world that such a man as 'Ed.' Brents shines. Pursued night and day by this man with a rifle, Ashley finally became desperate and surrendered. Brents lost no time in bringing his prisoner to this place and lodging him in jail where he now is, waiting trial. Brents left for Washington, where it is said he was called to receive the personal commendations of Commissioner Sells.

"For half a century and more these Seminole Indians have been the



MRS. MARIE L. BALDWIN (*Chippewa*)

Member of the Advisory Board, S. A. I., graduate of the Washington College of Law, and
Expert Accountant in the Education Division of the U. S. Indian Bureau

hereditary enemies of the Government, but this vigorous act of Commissioner Sells has done more than a library of speeches and promises to win them to confidence in Washington."

Mrs. Marie L. B. Baldwin, Attorney

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL wishes to express its appreciation of the brilliant success of Mrs. Marie L. B. Baldwin, recently graduated from the Washington School of Law. Mrs. Baldwin has a hereditary leaning toward the legal profession, for it was her father, John Bottineau, who for years fought for the rights of the Chippewas, especially the Turtle Mountain band. He gave unselfishly of his time and thought, and indeed poured into his labor his entire private fortune. During the long, wearisome fight for justice, when even friends seemed to fall away, it was his daughter who stood by his side, prepared the documents, and who did a vast share of the business and correspondence.

For the past two years Mrs. Baldwin has studied law with great perseverance. Side by side with men fresh from college, she competed for honors. Everyone knew her as the Indian woman whose wits were keen and whose mind was just a little bit more capable than the rest. Indian capacity was on trial, and Mrs. Baldwin as a loyal Chippewa, a loyal Indian, finished her course with honors, outstripping her class-mates and grasping the three years' course in two years. It was not all easy for Mrs. Baldwin, brave Chippewa, who worked eight hours each day in the Indian Office, where she is a high salaried employee in the Education Division. Hard work for eight hours a day, the difficult study of law by night, finishing three years in two, graduation as a bachelor of law,—these are Mrs. Baldwin's achievements. Does she claim the credit? No, she says it's the Indian blood within her that made her succeed.

Hon. Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs

Eminent authorities on the history of human development affirm that many of the evils now afflicting the human race are the result of faulty impressions or methods of reasoning inherited from the remote past. The human mind in many of its operations reaches conclusions far from correct because of the faulty primitive impressions and beliefs upon which judgment is based. Men are not easily convinced, however, of that which is ultimately accurate when the convenience of popular beliefs direct otherwise. Men unconsciously like to be on the popular side, the so-called rational side, of the question. A departure from the conventional methods seems like a

violation of sacred rights. Progress, however, always upsets old beliefs, systems, methods, purposes, and brings about a readjustment more in harmony with the laws of the present development.

In dealing with acute problems affecting human interests, it is always wise to deal through an unprejudiced mind. "Knowledge is power," indeed, but this knowledge must filter through brain cells that have no deep-worn channels that involuntarily direct that knowledge toward a preconceived point. Too many times a man's thought-roads have been dug for him by other hands than his own, but an inborn false pride seldom allows a man to even acknowledge this fact to himself.

In selecting a Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the administration might have chosen a man intimately acquainted with Indian affairs and interests. That man might have had his eye and his brain centered closely on definite facts, conditions, and accomplishments. Properly selected, such a man might have been a great success. Yet, even a man equipped with an abundance of knowledge might have been blinded by the very closeness of his vision. Microscopic familiarity might have destroyed that essential requirement in all statesmanship, perspective.

The new administration, whatever may have been its motives, did appoint a man who knew nothing intimate about Indians, but whose years of legal and administrative training had prepared him to handle just such a vast undertaking as must be the lot of a Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Hon. Cato Sells, of Texas, the man appointed, came to his post without a single prejudice that we know about; he came with a clear vision, and as he drew closer to the work for the regeneration of a race of humanity, his sense of perspective kept the proportional value of thing where they relatively belonged. Mr. Sells came as a strong man ready for a heavy task. He does not know everything, he has no ready-made plan and no off-hand reply to every emergency. He studies every individual problem. In this lies the very proof of his capacity and ability. We should be sorry if the Commissioner were an autocrat; he is very far from that, and the great responsibility resting upon him makes him humble. His sympathy for a fellow human creature is an impressive quality of character. He can feel with the other fellow.

Commissioner Sells is one of the men of our times who is great for his earnestness. A foremost citizen of Texas, his services have been eagerly sought in various responsible capacities where sound judgment has been required. He has served as county attorney and district attorney. His earlier years in Iowa, which is his native State, revealed

the promise of his future. Left fatherless at the age of thirteen, the responsibility of caring for his mother and two brothers fell largely upon his shoulders, but undaunted, he not only performed every duty of a faithful son, but educated himself at Cornell College. At the age of twenty-five he had graduated from law school and become "the boy mayor" of La Porte City, Iowa. Only recently Mr. Sells's services were required by the Government as chairman of a commission to determine the valuation of all the railroads of the country, and newspapers tell of the movement on foot to make him governor of Texas. Commissioner Sells prefers, however, to remain with the task into which he has plunged himself heart and soul, offers of greater salary notwithstanding.

The Commissioner's thorough realization of the stupendous importance of his task spurs him to grapple with the "problem" with a zeal that is nothing less than religious in character. "When I think of the red race of America," says the Commissioner, "and consider that the health, the education, and happiness of more than 300,000 men, women, and children rests very materially in my hands, I am appalled with the weight of my responsibility. All that remains to them on earth is entrusted to my keeping" Such a man can not prove false to his stewardship. His very utterances show that his heart is in the right place, and that he knows his duty one nothing less than sacred.

Commissioner Sells has another virtue. The uncultured or ignorant might call it a weakness, but it is not so. This virtue is the knowledge of self. The Commissioner knows himself, his own special qualities, and his powers of effectiveness. He attacks a task in full knowledge of how he is going to hold out. More than this, he does not outline his plans so that his enemies can create obstacles. He thinks his plans, puts them in operation, and they materialize as a surprise. The Commissioner impresses one as extremely patient, kind, leanient, and soft spoken. At the same time one sees that this springs from a knowledge of his power and not through any weakness. Quite to the contrary, Judge Sells in action is a rapid thinker, absolutely firm, and his voice rings with a conviction that discourages debate or quibbling on the part of the insincere.

No Indian is so ill acquainted with the English language, so poor, or so friendless that he will be neglected by the Commissioner. He will give up his time, his personal interest, his own convenience, any time for an Indian in distress. President Wilson would have to wait if an afflicted red man had a story to tell. The impression that one gets is that Judge Sells means to be the Commissioner of *Indian Affairs*

first and foremost. A recent letter of instructions to the superintendents reveals that he wants them to sit less in their offices and devote less time to clerical routine, but devote that time to actually getting acquainted first hand with their fields. He wants them to be alert and know their charges personally. He has likewise asked his agency farmers to really teach farming instead of doing office work. The Commissioner realizes that his own activity will count for little if his employees do not follow the same course.

One of the interesting mental traits of the Commissioner is that of concentration. He has the ability to concentrate his mind upon a subject, discuss it, and then if interrupted by several persons, the telephone, or clerks, to return a half hour later and carry on his discussion exactly where he left off. In this respect he is truly Napoleonic. It is the proof of an orderly brain that classifies and holds all things.

Commissioner Sells constantly asks advice, seeks the Indian viewpoint, examines complaints with wonderful patience,—in every action seeking to both just and merciful. All this takes more out of the vitality of the man than does the actual physical labor that he does in his fourteen-hour working day. A man who cares and concentrates attention for creative purposes burns nerve force, brain force, and the wonder is that human tissue can endure the strain.

Perhaps many persons do not like the Commissioner; perhaps some will seek to undermine his efforts—we do not know. Our only concern is that his plans for good will succeed and to his ability to do will be added the power that comes from the increasing knowledge. In expressing this hope, we are not endeavoring to support the Indian Bureau as an organization or the Commissioner as an office holder. We are only expressing the hope that the Commissioner as the servant of the Government may both serve the Government and the Indian people, whose destiny he is required to mold during his term of office. We wish him to succeed in order that the race may be benefited. Any other hope would be akin to treason. Every Indian and every citizen should therefore strive to cooperate with the Commissioner that the United States may redeem her pledges to the first Americans and that these first Americans may come into their own as producing factors in a progressive country.

A man with the courage and initiative of Commissioner Sells deserves both the respect and friendship of those whom he serves. Loyalty to the best interests of the red man will be all the loyalty that the Commissioner will ask of any man. To such a man, then, let there be given power for accomplishment and the means by which he may have support and strength for the task.

Some day we may have occasion to criticize the Commissioner. He may after all be a very shrewd politician and without knowing it be steering for the wrong shore. We have not seen evidence of this as yet. We hope we never shall. Your editor wishes to give every man that which is in justice due him; he believes in encouraging good men in the carrying out of unselfish purposes for the greater good of mankind. But,—when men turn against the Indian and assist to exploit him for their own enrichment, no man looks so big that he can scare off the bomb shell of truth that will be shot.

Shall the Pimas Be Robbed of Water?

The Pima Indians need water if they are to continue to live. The Pimas need the water that nature provided. That water has been appropriated by the white settlers. To offset the injustice the Pimas were sold wells of poisonous water whose chemical deposits spoil the land for agriculture. The Pimas did not want those wells. But the Pimas must pay for them. For centuries the Pimas have used the waters of the Gila River, but now they are deprived of it and given instead well water pumped by electricity at such great cost that its use, even if free from alkali, is prohibitive. The Pima Indians wish to live; they do not wish to become paupers and beggars. The United States has no right to slaughter the Pimas industrially. The guardian Government has no right to sell the birthright of the Pimas. Yet it has failed to protect them. The Pimas appeal to the Nation, they appeal to Congress, they appeal to you, reader. Help the Pimas; help right; forbid injustice! You have the opportunity of writing your Congressman in support of the bill introduced by Hon. Carl Hayden (H. R. 17016), providing for the construction of the San Carlos irrigation project. This bill provides for furnishing the Pima Reservation with water free of construction charges, which shall be judicially determined if entitled by reason of prior appropriation by the Pimas. The Indian Rights Association indorses the bill.

Local Meetings or Conferences

For the purpose of discussing the principles of the Society of American Indians, for spreading information, or for the getting of new members, local gatherings of members of the Society are to be encouraged. At such meetings, however, no resolutions may be adopted that in any way put the stamp of the Society upon them. It is deemed advisable to have as the chairman of such local gatherings one of the officers of the Society, or one of the Advisory Board who has a good working knowledge of the principles and platform of the Society. Our Society

is national in character, and its great object is to bring into being conditions that will help all Indians and to point out the way to all Indians for competence with the best factors in the country.

Local meetings may arrange banquets or entertainments and invite both white and Indian friends to be present and listen to the discussion about the platform, objects, and needs of the Society. Non-members must be allowed to speak and a free platform maintained. A local meeting may discuss local conditions and submit a report to the Annual Conferences, but a local meeting must not consider its own interests alone. Every action must be measured by what is best for all tribes and bands. The great theme should be, "What the Indian can now do for himself, for his people, and for his country." Before local meetings are held, the President's permission must be secured and the secretary notified. An outline program must be submitted and the reason of the meeting explained, ever remembering that the honor of the race, the usefulness of the individual, and the good of the country must stand first in all plans and actions.



Books and Book Talk

In Red Man's Land is the title of a new book from the pen of Francis E. Leupp. Within the space of 161 pages Mr. Leupp has compressed seven chapters of information highly interesting to the new student of Indian affairs, and useful even to the veteran in the service. According to the preface, the aim of the volume is to introduce the Indian as an individual, the author's former book "The Indian and His Problem," treating the subject from a civic viewpoint.

The chapter headings outline the author's logic and afford a convenient method of treatment. In order these chapters are: The Aboriginal Red Man; The Red Man and the Government; The Red Man and His White Neighbor; The Red Man and our Social Order; Aborigines Who Are Not Red Men; The Red Man as a Teacher and Learner; Supplemental: Missions to the Red Man, by Rev. A. F. Beard; Bibliography.

Mr. Leupp has studied the Indian. He was Mr. Roosevelt's Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Like all men who have dealt with the problem, Mr. Leupp has been accused of making errors. Every man, indeed, who deals with this sensitive bit of national work is accused of something. However, Mr. Leupp in all his acts and writings has shown that he had ideas, plans, and the will for helping

the Indian to understand the need of restraint, education, and industry. Like all men who have such ideas, he found the problem of carrying them out a difficult one. Contending voices were clamoring and the din was nerve racking and discouraging. Since his official days Mr. Leupp has not forgotten to retain his love of the Indian wards over which he was once the chief guardian. *In Red Man's Land* shows a continued sympathy and a desire for better conditions. His remarks on environment, education, thrift, and governmental functions will be found worth while.

Says Mr. Leupp, on page 59, in discussing the Government: "As their guardian it disciplined them when they disregarded its admonition; as their guardian it took possession of large slices of their estate whenever it could claim that they were using their land unwisely, and therefore would be better without it; as their guardian, it concluded that they were likely to grow faster in grace if their wild game supply was cut off, and on this pretext compelled them to give up hunting and submit to be fed and clothed like paupers at the public expense. None of its designs, however veiled, was carried out without vigorous protest on the part of the wards, and the expenditure of many lives and much money; and as if to salve its conscience for all these sacrifices the guardian Government established a system of schools where coming generations could be taught to cope with the master race which had overcome their fathers." Then Mr. Leupp, pointing out how the Indians have been poured out like inanimate grist into steam rollers and grinding mill-stones of this commercial age, concludes: "As well might we deliver a family of children into the keeping of a mechanical mother or an automatic nurse."

And certainly it is all too true that the Indian has not been civilized by humanizing agencies. His training has been in general institutional, and that he has a mind of his own and a heart as tender to human emotion as others has been more often forgotten. If you will study *In Red Man's Land* you will discover in Mr. Leupp's word-picture that a bronzed exterior may be quite as sensitive as that covered by an epidermis lacking pigment of any sort.

In Red Man's Land, Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, 1914. 12 mo.; cloth, 50¢ net.

The White Seneca

Very few books of fiction using Indian life as a theme are anywhere near accurate when history and ethnology are considered. *The White Seneca*, by Mr. W. W. Canfield, almost approaches accuracy, when other books are compared with it. And yet, it is bothersome for the mistakes with which it assails the careful reader. The second edition

of this interesting tale of stirring border days might have come across as a clean effort to achieve the ideal, for its publishers were informed of each of its numerous small errors, such as words, the spelling of Indian terms, mistakes in the description of customs and expressions. The pictures were criticized, for with almost no exceptions each was amusingly incongruous. For instance, the plate facing page 52 contains among its seven glaring errors a Kwakiutl mask, a Sioux bonnet, and a Navaho necklace pictured in an Iroquois bark house of about 1786! The illustrator, G. A. Harker, went wrong in a wild fashion when he attempted to make his sketches. Any ethnologist in New York, Philadelphia, or Washington would have found the mistakes in an instant.

Your critic pointed out these mistakes to the publishers, and feeling that the errors in text would be corrected, wrote the introduction for the book. But the second edition shows the errors perpetuated.

Beyond this, the story is a good one, and the author tells it in a happy, old-fashioned vein, consistent with the time when the events he describes took place. The story weaves about the time of Sullivan's campaign against the Six Nations of New York, a theme which Chambers has woven into a serial running in the *Cosmopolitan* called "The Hidden Children." But Chambers falls down and worships the god of inaccuracy to make a great story, and he bends lower than needful.

Mr. Canfield was brought up with Indian boys and has a remarkable spirit of fairness. His book neither shows the Indian better than he was nor worse. It shows him just as he was in all his romantic setting. For boys hunting for a good story *The White Seneca* will be a new thrill. The book is of the manhood-building sort and free from sickening melodrama. It is distinctly high grade, but it is too bad that it speaks of Indian "princesses," of "Sagwas," and calls Brant a "half-blood." The book has already been received in New York schools as good supplemental reading.

The White Seneca, by W. W. Canfield. E. P. Dutton Co., New York. Cloth, 60 cents.

The Open Forum

Ranching as an Industry

To the Society of American Indians:

The question of beef and open range and ranching is an important question to-day, and the shortage of the western ranges, turning them into 160 acre farm lands, is making the high cost of beef.

Is the West to go under the plough and grazing to be abolished? Ranching and farming are two separate industries.

In the Rocky Mountain States there are millions of acres that are not fit for agricultural purposes, which can be profitably use for grazing purposes. What is the use to divide these up into small sections and sell them to settlers as agricultural lands? The ranges should be reserved in Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Nevada, parts of Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, parts of Colorado, western part of North and South Dakota, western part of Nebraska, western Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. In these States nature has provided a typical range country to be devoted to the live-stock industry. For instance, the State of Montana has an area of 90,000,000 acres, of which 30,000,000 acres are rough, mountainous country; 30,000,000 acres, again, are very hilly country; and the remaining 30,000,000 acres are suitable for crops that can endure the cold climate. The same is true of the State of Wyoming, as I know the soil in both well; and the State of New Mexico and Arizona, also, are typical range country. The true remedy is to recognize the importance and necessity of ranching, and change western conditions to make it possible and profitable.

We hear a great cry in the eastern cities: "Go West," as the cities are overcrowded. It stands to reason that all city folks cannot become farmers or ranchmen, inasmuch as all cannot become musicians or poets.

In coming back to the open range question—

There is a bill that has been introduced in the Senate, I believe by Senator La Follette, for improving and preserving public grazing land in those Western States heretofore mentioned. The bill aims to have the ranges divided into districts under the control of the Secretary of Agriculture for the reseeding of worn-out areas and a systematic war on poisonous plants and animals that prey upon cattle. Normal charges could be assessed to those using the land.

In the last few years a few big outfits have sold out and have gone to South America. If the cattle industry is going to be allowed to decline in the United States, we shall be forced to pay higher prices for beef in the future than theretofore. Not so very long ago our

country furnished a great deal of beef for Europe; Argentine now furnishes the bulk of it.

In Montana alone we could raise more cattle than in the early days. However, I do not believe in a few men having all, and, on the other hand, no ranchman can keep up the industry with less than one thousand acres and a little range.

So we can see by this that ranching is 'just as important as farming. They are two separate and necessary industries.

I am only a cowboy and no cattle king, and am working for the real interest of my western country.

Yours very respectfully,

FRANCIS FOX JAMES,
Western Range Rider.

Mr. J. A. Godfrey Has a Rejoinder

There is a mix-up in Oklahoma concerning the integrity of some of its citizens when it comes to dealing with Indian affairs. In our last issue we mentioned what certain persons thought of Mr. J. A. Godfrey, of Pittsburg, Okla. Mr. Godfrey has attacked the reputation of Senator Owen and cited the court records to prove his assertions. Anyone can find out whether Mr. Godfrey's charges are true by getting the county clerks to look over the records. Two cents invested in a stamp and a letter properly directed will bring the information. The last *Quarterly Journal* contained quotations reflecting upon Mr. Godfrey. And now he comes back and says he is "no calumny monger, no mercenary wretch, no political tool." He cites a long list of good men as to his character and reputation and says our quotations are libelous. Concerning Mr. Owen, he repeats: "... you know very well that if I had lied and slandered Senator Owen in my letter, Vol. I, No. 3, he would be only too glad to put me behind the bars, with a heavy fine attached thereto. No one knows better than Senator Owen that I have the court records on him . . ."

The Quarterly can not carry on a controversy. Our pages are not the place to punish men. We have given publicity to this discussion in hopes that justice would be achieved. We want a thorough investigation. Right is right, graft is graft, and lies are lies. What is the truth? Let there be some action.

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To the Secretary-Treasurer, THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN INDIANS,
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Sir: I desire to become an member
(Write active, associate, or junior)

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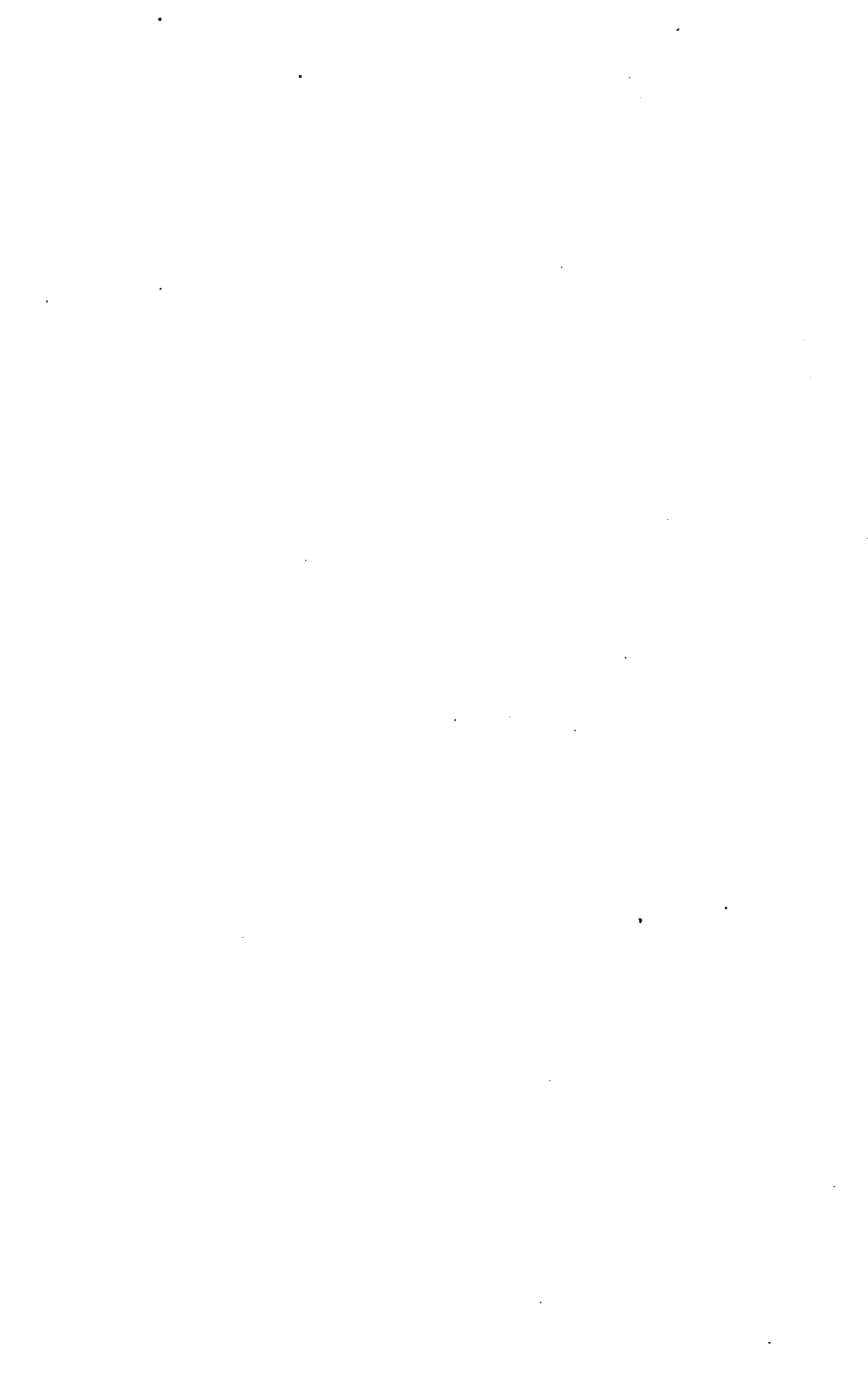
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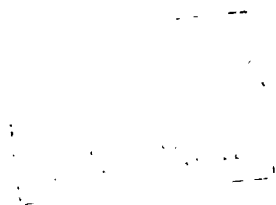
HOW SHALL THE RED MAN'S LOYALTY BE REWARDED

(A Cartoon by Coultaus in the N. Y. Herald)

Shall the red men be turned away from the doors of Congress? Hundreds of loyal Indians fought in the Revolutionary War, more in the War of 1812, furnishing soldiers, captains, and colonels. Thousands fought in the Civil War, furnishing common soldiers, petty officers, surgeons, naval officers, engineers, and even a staff officer with General Grant. Hundreds were in the Spanish War, and better still thousands are now loyal citizens. The Indian now appeals for standing and voice in the Court of Claims; he asks for a definition of his status in this home land of his and for a codification of the Indian law. In a great memorial prepared by his leaders he is asking for his primary rights, appealing to the President, the Congress, and the Indian Commissioner. Shall he again be turned away?



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THE APPEAL TO THE GREAT SPIRIT—*By Dallin*

This statue, which took the grand prize at Paris, stands in front of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The modeling of both the horse and the Indian is regarded as highly faithful to life.



"The honor of the race and the good of the country shall be paramount"

VOL. II WASHINGTON, D. C., JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1914 NO. 3

Editorial Comment

BY THE EDITOR-GENERAL

The Lesson of the Fourth Conference

THE Fourth Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians was different in character from any that has preceded it. Yet it was a unique and distinct success. The type of its success, however, was different from the success of former meetings. A crisis faced the Society. Grave responsibilities faced every member. It was almost in gloom that the conference faced its problems. The question seemed to be, "Can we solve our problems; and if we do, will it all be worth while?" A heavy debt for the expenses of the year demonstrated that the Society had inadequate financial support. Did this, then, mean a lack of interest? This was answered fully by the members of the conference themselves assuming the debt, and in the short space of one hour contributing in cash an amount more than enough to pay the indebtedness. Indeed, this seemed not even then a sufficient pledge of interest, for hundreds of dollars more were subscribed collectable on demand.

Here, then, was inspiration and the pledge of loyal interest. In other sessions other problems were debated. Our associate members demonstrated their unselfish interest not only by assuming their share of the financial support, and more, but by the moral backing they gave the Society. When Indians of many tribes and their friends of many religions, political and philosophic views can unite as all did at the University of Wisconsin Conference, there must be some vital worth in the organization. That value lies only

and solely in its high ideals, its lofty principles. The Conference was a sure demonstration that such ideals clung to with faith and devotion bring with them sure salvation, even when ruin seems to face those who have believed. But our wonderful success should bring humility, not boasting. Success came with a price. The price was sacrifice. Those who labored paid the cost in a devotion not earthborn. Those who paid the material debts did not give from treasuries overflowing, but from purses often taxed to the utmost.

Our First Conference was one of searching out ideals; our second, one of organizing for service; our third, one of realizing opportunity. Then came a year of spreading the gospel of service. Members seeing every evidence of success accepted it as an assurance that all was well, forgetting themselves to serve. The work fell upon a small group, and the membership seemed to feel that no effort was needful on their part. To appeals for funds and for help in other lines the active officers had almost no response. So sure did failure seem that more than one stout heart at headquarters was wrung with apprehension. No one can ever know what it cost to those who worked without a penny's cost to the Society at the Washington headquarters.

Then came the Fourth Conference, and the Society faced in it the crisis of its existence. The slightest turn from the path of ideals would have brought ruin, but instead the right path was chosen and success came. *The Fourth Conference was one of realized responsibility.*

The old working staff was re-elected. Shall the members now respond and by their activity and interest bring the support so greatly needed? Or, by apathy, shall the members desert the men and women whom they have chosen to lead? An army must have its general and its minor officers, but it must have soldiers for the fight. Shall your officers struggle alone with only their small company of the faithful, or shall we be an army indeed? If you fail us, how can we succeed?

There is work ahead for 1915. The Society shall achieve a new and higher success. Our appeals to the President, to Congress, to the press, and to the public will be listened to by attentive ears. But the highest success can only come when every member works as if the entire success of the Society depended upon him or her.

**Wipe Them Off
the Earth!**

IN OUR self-satisfied ignorance and selfishness many times we imagine ourselves so superior to others that we need not bother with their troubles. If they oppose us, we refuse to examine into the reason and turn to revenge in blind fury. When another nation whose ideals and aims we do not understand antagonizes our interests, we shout in high-flown emotion, "We should wipe them off the earth." Down in Mexico there is a struggle between the various elements of the Mexican people. They have their own viewpoint. We do not know what it is—we do not care to know perhaps. Perhaps they are rightfully striving for an ultimate ideal that we are too selfish to see. Perhaps there are vast evils in Mexico that suffering people are trying to overcome; perhaps they do not view our great commercial interests as we do, because these great enterprises are not theirs.

The measure of American savagery, its failure to see the great responsibility resting upon it, its need of true civilization, are all indicated by the moral depth of the common expression, "Wipe them off the earth." We do not say this because most Mexicans are of Indian blood, but because we wish our country to actually live the noble ideals that it holds up to the world. And our wish, it seems, has its chiefest advocate in the person of President Wilson.



**In all Things
BE CLEAN**

SOME of the neatest men and women and the cleanest homes I have ever seen have been on Indian reservations. I once heard two Indian speakers stand before a large audience and say that the public schools where white people sent their children were so dirty that they had to send their little Indian children to private schools. These Indians, you may imagine, were educated, refined, and truly civilized. They did not live on reservations.

Civilization means order and respect of the rights of other men. But to be civilized means a great deal more than that. The beginning of civilization lay in the *desire to be clean*. To be civilized is to be clean in body, in clothing, in mind and spirit, and clean in surroundings. People that do not mind filth are always savages.

There are plenty of white men as well as colored men who are still savages in this sense. A well-ordered mind demands cleanliness, a well ordered mind thinks clean things. A man with a disordered or undeveloped mind, or a savage, is satisfied with giddy colors, fancy clothing, a pretense of luxury even though everything is dirty.

A truly civilized man or woman has a clean body, a clean mind, and lives in a clean house. Such a man or woman chooses a clean cotton garment, well pressed and simply made, in preference to a soiled and greasy silk garment that may once have cost a large sum. To be dirty is to be disorderly; it is a disgrace. A dirty home, a dirty yard, dirty beds, and dirty persons should not be tolerated in civilized communities because such things are dangerous. They are an insult to the God who made all things clean and decent.

The old-time Indian had very strict laws about clean camps and clean villages. There were laws about clean persons, for it was well known that game animals would flee from dirty persons. The modern Indian, confused as he may be by the new civilization, must not take his lessons from the back yards of dirty neighbors, white or red. All of the best things in the old Indian life, such as the ancient law of cleanness, must be brought into and developed higher in the new civilization.

To work amid soot and soil is a royal occupation and an honor to the man or woman who labors bravely to accomplish things. The dishonor comes to the man or woman who lets the dirt stay on his body or his garments. It is not the dirt that gets on a man that disgraces him; it is the dirt that a man is content to lie down in that does that. Filth must be washed off or it sinks in.

Dirt is of many kinds. Your mind as well as your hands can become soiled. Lookout, filth always brings disease! Sickness, moral and physical, comes from dirt. There is health in a clean body, a clean mind, and a clean heart. To keep clean constantly, seek the fountain that gives cleanliness, whether water, wisdom, truth, or godliness.

If I could change all the mottoes that hang on walls to remind men of good things, I should suggest this simple admonition:

"In all things be clean!"

**Our Chippewa
Women Work**

THERE are many lady members of our Society who have done much to contribute to its success. Among these we have in mind a group of Chippewa women who by the contribution of thought, labor, and finance have given to the Society much of its power.

Few women in any organization have been more willing to work than Mrs. Marie L. Baldwin. A lady of rare culture and charm, she has represented her race and her society in many assemblages of the great with queenly dignity that brought honor to her people. We recall Miss Alice H. Denomie, who came from South Dakota to Washington to serve as our headquarters' assistant. She worked with rare efficiency and with great intelligence. Her work at Carlisle in getting scores of members will long be remembered. Her work was heavy, but she never complained.

Miss Dora B. McCauley, as assistant secretary, was another Chippewa who worked with fidelity, often long after office hours. She put thought in her work and showed patience in her many trials of preparing the complex records and typewriting the issues of the *Quarterly Journal*.

Following Miss McCauley, came a Chippewa who had been the first assistant secretary, and indeed our first corresponding secretary, Mrs. Rosa B. LaFlesche. With her characteristic devotion, she left a highly paid Government position to come to us in Washington. Yet our records show that her months of service were never rewarded by payment. Few know that she paid the office expenses and then refused to submit a bill. Who can measure her heart ache in seeing debts pile up and our members pay no attention to appeals? Once before, as our first acting secretary, she had done the same. Her sacrifice more than once has given us strength. Yet when has she asked for praise or even appreciation? Your editor wishes to say that the quiet labors of one woman, Mrs. Rosa B. LaFlesche, for the Society of American Indians must forever stamp her one of the most heroic Indian women who ever lived. A race that can produce such a woman can well be proud and justly may it appeal that the race be saved to bring to the world others who will render mankind like service.

When the annals of the race and the Society are written the work of these quiet, unassuming women will have a just appreciation. Their labors will count large in the story of the struggle for race salvation.

**The Society and Its
Accomplished
Hopes**

It is not for our Society to be boastful or overrate its influence. We have not done everything we set out to do. Even the Constitution of the United States has not brought every evil under subjection. But there are certain changes in Indian affairs that should be noted with interest. To the world our Society stands as a long-needed instrument for the expression of the ideals of the Indian mind. A European correspondent writing the editor said that if other peoples could proclaim such lofty principles and stand upon so exalted a platform as ours the world would become civilized indeed. Our Society has earned an enviable reputation because it has never stooped to the mercenary or mean. It has won for the red race more credit than any other influence the race has ever exerted. The depth of its appeal to Indians alone is shown by 25 per cent. increase in membership in last year, and this without any special campaign. This speaks well for the way the Society has withstood the test. The Society convened its first conference upon the strength of 56 members of the active class. Thousands of appeals had been sent out, yet only a handful responded. There was a wide suspicion that it was another mushroom effort. But our present strength, after four years of growth, has not only been that derived from native sources. We could not have lived a year without the confidence and respect of the best friends of the Indian among the citizens of the country.

Your officers have labored as consistently as the membership would permit, and to-day there are few Indians in the country that have not had a chance to learn of the Society.

Our third platform added its weight to the struggle for efficient service to the Indian. There is an increasing interest in our demand for a determination of status for the Indian and for a codified law. Many prominent individuals are interested in the amended Stephens bill to permit Indians to place their claims in the Federal Court of Claims. There is a noticable improvement in the school system. Carlisle has made a great change for the better. We used all our pressure to obtain a completion of the Indian census. The work is now finished. There is an increased interest in sanitation on reservations. And, finally, our own people are gripping their problems both as individuals and as a unit through their Society.

Our work is serious work, and it seems as if the result of the Madison Conference has shown that the God of nations is with us; lest we become overconfident, let us make sure that we are with him. In this effort to redeem our race, who, then, can be against us!



Shall We Let the Indian Become Blind? NEARLY 30 per cent. of all Indian pupils in Indian boarding schools are in danger of becoming blind. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that nearly all the 17,000 Indian boys and girls in Government boarding schools are in danger of complete blindness, and that five thousand already have a dangerous eye disease. Indeed, blindness threatens all reservation Indians in the United States.

The eye infection that threatens to blind the Indian of America is trachoma. Trachoma is a disease affecting the lining membrane of the eyelid. It inflames the lid and leaves a scar tissue. The disease may be severe enough to destroy eyesight within a few months, or in its acute stage within a few weeks. The inflammation of the lid may affect the eyeball (cornea) so as to cause ulceration, which bursting, empties the eyeball. When no ulceration occurs, the corneal surface (or portion of the eye over the pupil and iris), may become affected with a growth of tissue that obscures vision. The condition is known as pannus. The injured lid contracting, adds to the torment by turning inward, so that the lashes are thrust directly against the surface of the eyeball.

Trachoma is an ancient malady and is described in ancient Egyptian and Greek writings. It spread from the Far East to the countries bordering the Mediterranean and so through Europe. It has not been generally prevalent in America, but in certain foreign quarters in cities and in portions of Illinois, Kentucky and West Virginia it has been observed for some time.

The manner of contracting the disease is by infection from the secretions of a trachomatous eye. The medium may be pillows, towels, handkerchiefs, a common wash basin, house flies, and unclean clothing. Unclean rooms frequented by careless persons may also contribute to spread the disease.

If trachoma is not treated effectively it destroys the efficiency of the affected person. In a young person it prevents school training and prohibits earning a living. The patient becomes a menace to the rest of the community, and the burden of supporting him falls upon taxpayers and local institutions, and thus public charges increase in number.

Trachoma is most prevalent in Government boarding schools; less in reservation day schools; and least of all among all classes and ages of reservation Indians. This means that there has been some laxity in preventing the spread of the disease in the schools. Towels and garments placed in close proximity and the close association of pupils at work or in school games no doubt have contributed to infection.

These facts are alarming indeed. They point to the stern necessity of immediate remedial measures. The disease must be controlled, or the Indian problem will assume an entirely different aspect. We invite your attention to the diagram appended herewith. A complete account of "the contagious and infectious diseases among Indians" is contained in Senate Document 1038, Sixty-second Congress, 1913. From it we have drawn our figures.

The alarming conditions we have pointed out demonstrate first, the need of a vigorous campaign in which Indians will be instructed in preventative measures; second, the strengthening of the medical service; and third, the equipment of field hospitals and dispensaries. It is better to support these measures than care for thousands of blind men and women, boys and girls who otherwise might have been saved for self-support and usefulness.



**The Mohonk
Conference**

THE Conference of the Friends of the Indian and other Dependent People has again met, through the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smiley. We wish the American public could appreciate what this conference means and what it stands for. The conference has no society or association and no definite membership, though the United States Board of Indian Commissioners usually holds sessions there or meets with the conference.

The great heart of Albert K. Smiley conceived the plan 32

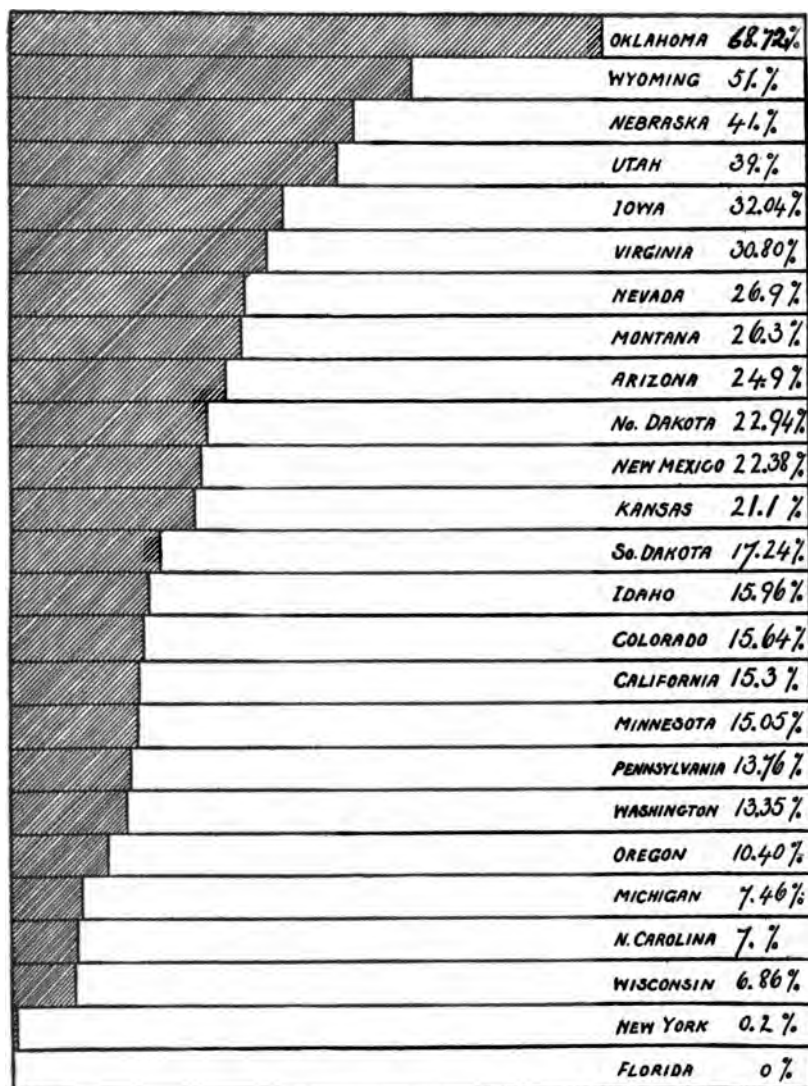


CHART SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE OF INDIANS SUFFERING FROM TRACHOMA AMONG THOSE EXAMINED IN THE DIFFERENT STATES.

years ago. He invited the friends of the Indian to his beautiful estate, and each year, until the time of his death, kept up the custom. Every member of the conference was a personal guest of Mr. and Mrs. Smiley. The conference was a gathering of friends in their household. There, amid surroundings scarcely equaled for beauty in all the world, friends met and talked over what was best to do to uphold the honor of America in its dealings with its wards.

After the death of Mr. Smiley, his brother, Mr. Daniel Smiley, continued the conferences and extended the same hospitality.

The conference is more than the reading of papers. Friends get together and face to face, discuss plans and purposes, personal views are interchanged, and men learn to know one another in their labors for the common interest.

This year several of our members came directly from Madison to Mohonk. Our representatives were Mr. Charles E. Dagenett, Mr. John M. Oskison, Rev. Henry Roe-Cloud, Rev. Thomas C. Moffett, Prof. F. A. McKenzie, Mrs. Marie L. B. Baldwin, Mr. Matthew K. Sniffin, Mr. Robert D. Hall, Mrs. Walter C. Roe, Mr. G. Elmer Lindquist, Rev. G. Watermulder and the Secretary-Treasurer of the S. A. I.

Nearly all of our members, associate and active, took part in the Mohonk discussions. It must be said however that our associates represented primarily other interests than ours as a Society. Indeed many of the prominent members of the conference besides those mentioned were associate members of the S. A. I. We are fortunate in our many friends, and our friends are fortunate in their friends Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smiley.



**The Menace of the
Fraudulent Wild
West Show**

RECENTLY, from many sources, there have gone forth protests against the Wild West show. The editor has letters from all parts of the country asking that some definite action be taken. The editor himself protests against them, primarily from the belief that such traveling exhibitions not only deceive the public as to the true nature of the Indian and his progress, but instill into the Indians who enter such circuses a false idea of civilization. A matter of secondary importance to the editor is that he has been

called upon so many times to buy tickets home for the stranded "show-Indian." Nor is your editor the only victim. Others have been asked to contribute far larger amounts. Why should we thus support the show system by making it easy to get home? Is it not in lingering hope that the show Indian will stay home and work his farm? But is the hope a vain one? It seems so in some cases.

The Wild West show has done a lot of harm in the way of deceiving the public. It has made most persons think that the Indians are still wild savages. It has made them think that every Indian of whatever tribe wears, or once wore, the Sioux war bonnet; it has made them believe that Indian women all wore a feather in their hair standing up straight behind. Of course this is the "exploit feather," and may mean that the wearer has killed an enemy. Even the Camp-Fire girls have followed the error. As Mr. Gohl says in an article in this issue, the show Indian is compelled to act the "white man's idea of an Indian." But ethnologists, missionaries, and Indians themselves know that they never had such heathenish customs and that they never howled and gesticulated as the Wild West show makes them.

And here is something the Indians themselves should consider. There would be no such degenerate antics if the public opinion of the Indians themselves was against it. When white showmen are assailed for recruiting actors "at a dollar a day and feed" the class of Indians who misrepresent their people should likewise be criticized. A bad Indian is no better than a bad white man ordinarily, but an Indian who misrepresents or cheats his people is worse, indeed. The show Indian is not the real Indian any more than the circus white man is the real white man. But just as the ordinary show Indian gets to believing that the circus followers are the best in civilization, so the public gets to thinking that the painted pseudo-Indian of the tan-bark is the typical red-man. The public should make a clear distinction. The best influences in the country are trying to instill systematic habits, thrift, and home loving in the breast of the reservation red man. If, then, the circus-goers could see the untilled farms, the unhappy wives, the hungry children in the tumble down houses of the Indians who follow shows they

would realize who pays the price for traveling around the country. We ask the United States Government to hold back its permission that Indians may be taken from reservations and allowed to travel with shows. It is not a dignified thing for the guardian Government to turn its wards over to circus men. Nor is it conducive of good training on the part of the Indian ward. Away with injurious fakery!



**The Loyal Indians
in Government
Employ**

SOME of the most patriotic and loyal Indians in the United States are employed in the service of the United States Government. Nearly all Indians who through their ability to work with head, heart, or hands are able to do good service are glad to enter the service of Uncle Sam's Indian Bureau. Over two thousand two hundred Indians, in various capacities, are regularly employed in the Indian Service. Almost without exception all are earnest men and women, who labor first of all for the welfare of their people. Among the well-known Indians who have worked for the Government are Dr. Carlos Montezuma, Hon. Gabe Parker, Dr. Charles A. Eastman, Chauncey Y. Robe, Denison Wheelock, Angel Decora-Deitz, Mrs. Rose B. La Flesche, Mrs. Emma Goulette and Mrs. Marie L. Baldwin and Charles E. Dagenett. We mention Mr. Dagenett last, not because he is the least, but as a climax, for he holds perhaps one of the most vital positions that a man can hold in the Indian Service, that of Supervisor of Indian Employment. Mr. Dagenett is fearless in his recommendations to the Bureau, and your editor more than once has witnessed his struggle to obtain justice for his brother Indian. "I was an Indian before I entered the service of the Indian Bureau," says Mr. Dagenett, "and I shall be an Indian, and loyal to my race, long after I leave that service." We believe that this sentiment voices the attitude of every Indian in Government employ.

But we find ourselves rudely shocked. A rumor has gone forth that "the Society" has a hostile attitude toward Indians in Federal employ. Some one seems to have spread the idea that, through our members so employed, "the Bureau" was endeavoring to control the Society. Of course this is untrue and

unjust. Such eminent authorities as Gen. R. H. Pratt, President Coolidge and Dr. Montezuma know for a certainty that "the bureau" has no wish to "control the Society." They know for a certainty that our Indian membership employed by the Bureau is absolutely loyal to the race. At Madison, the Conference unanimously repudiated any feeling of hostility to any class of Indians. To discuss such a matter is useless. There is no prejudice in the Society, and we are glad that those who spread the rumor (whom they are, we know not) are refuted by the action of the Fourth Conference. Some believe that it was a covert move to cause Government employees to leave the Society or to prejudice them against it. This, of course, would be as fatal as attempting to say that the Government employees did not want Indians not so employed in the Society. We have been attacked in several ways, but always have withstood the shock because we had been assailed with untruth. Our walls are solid, we are one people despite our occupations; and our associate friends in mission, Federal, or independent fields have but one wish, the success and progress of the Society and the race. Only our foes will exit a division because of tribe, religion, politics, or occupation. We stand united now and, please God, may we do so until the end.



**New Hope for
Progress at
Carlisle**

ONE of the greatest changes for the good of Indian education in fifty years has occurred at Carlisle Indian School. This change meets the earnest hope of many friends of the race and brings valuable opportunities to the students fortunate enough to enter Carlisle. The change is the adding of high school grades to the course of study and the elimination of the primary classes. The hope of the *Quarterly Journal* as expressed in our last issue is in a measure realized. Carlisle is now placing itself in position to become a genuine factor for the uplift of the race. Acting Superintendent Lipps by his courage and initiative deserves the gratitude of every Indian in the United States. And his high service to his country and to the red race proves him to be the right kind of a man for the Indian Service. The school and the school paper (*The Red Man*) both reflect the personality of Mr. Lipps. There is abundant evidence of manly strength and efficiency.

The Editor's Viewpoint

The Road to Competent Citizenship

THE purpose of both the church and the Government is to prepare Indians for citizenship—American citizenship. This was not always the purpose in mind, however. For a long time there were three schools of belief affecting the Indian. The first believed in exterminating Indians. The second, stung to remorse (through flints and bullets and other stings), conscientiously thought it wise to “let the Indian alone.” It had cost over a million dollars to kill an Indian in some conflicts, and the public treasury was injured. Thus he was segregated. A third school of philosophy then crept into being. It said, “Assimilate the Indian.”

As a result of these three systems of “dealing” with the Indian, three different codes of ethics have arisen,—three different sets of laws, based upon three criteria. It is perfectly clear, therefore, that there is a complex interweaving of conflicting principles. If some genius should work out each law from its source for each group of Indians, there would be a strange “rag-carpet” effect, and the dropped, skipped, or raveled stitches would reveal an odd picture. The red thread of the war-and-treaty criterion would twine about the blue thread of segregation, and struggling for position would be seen the slender white thread of assimilation. But the blanket must be all white,—this blanket of uniform status. It must cover all alike. This is the meaning of the Constitution and of the principle upheld by Lincoln.

As matters now stand there is an accretion of law-upon-law governing Indian affairs until every Indian agency, not to speak of the central Indian Office itself, is gorged with the work of digesting laws and regulations. These laws are and were based upon the idea of a separate people, supposed to be unlike in capacity and destiny. Every fact seemed to point out this false conclusion to early theorists. The fact that uniform environment might produce a uniform civilization was not discovered until many experiments had been tried upon the Indian. This fact is now so well known that it is not difficult to understand

Photo by Harris & Ewing, Washington



MRS. ROSA. B. LA FLESCHÉ (*Chippewa*)

It was her deep faith in the Society and her devotion to it that carried the first conference to success and gave the Society the strength to live through its most critical periods.

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General Pratt when he exclaims, "The problem has always been the system and never the Indian!"

If we could only commence over and build anew upon a sound basis there would be an immediate turn for the permanent good. Despite the confusion that would result from the total loss of every law and regulation now governing the Indian, should such a loss occur by fire or miracle, or by act of the Congress, a greater final good would be accomplished. We could then build anew in a way strictly in accord with the highest interests of every Indian and every citizen. The political economist, the statesman, the lawyer, and the sociologist might unite to produce a just code of laws that would build men and citizens, and give them every right every American enjoys.

But we may expect no great fire to destroy the records, nor may we hope for a miracle. Nevertheless, there must be a new beginning. Every one who would argue this point should read Professor McKenzie's article in the "*Quarterly Journal*" last issue, Vol. II, No. 2. A further argument along specific lines is contained in this issue under the heading, "The Legal Status of the Indians." Our argument is for the appointment of a presidential commission of three great men, a great lawyer, a well-known sociologist, and perhaps an educator, who shall study existing laws and out of the tangle rear a new code of laws having the golden thread of *consistency* and *definite purpose* running through it.

Out of the principles we have mentioned, first, "kill him"; second, "let him alone"; third, "absorb him," have grown many evils. When the "pale invader" fought the red aborigine, he only aroused his patriotism and made him a desperate savage. Pale-faced men were quite as savage in many, many cases, and murdered Indian women and children without the least evidence of Christian humanity. We do not care to quote the instances, but scores of documents record the facts. Fighting the Indians made them defiant. They had a country then to fight for, and if by chance things went wrong they were given treaties as if they were foreign powers. The steady, resistless policy of the white invader was to obtain the land and exercise his sovereignty over it. To conquer and possess was an irresistible passion. If he had wished it the white man might have carried on war-

fare to the bitter end and in time have completely exterminated the Indian. For certain reasons this was not done. It could not be done at first, because the Indians protected and fed the settlers, teaching them the ways of the woods and how to grow corn and other American foods. Even when the settlers grew more independent, distance and uncertainty prevented an exterminating war. Exterminating the Indian was a physical impossibility up to the first quarter of the last century, though every means had been tried from wholesale slaughter to introducing terrible diseases. When it was possible there came the second policy. Good men and women believed the Indians should be segregated and placed on a large tract of land, there, by the aid of teachers and missionaries, to work out their own salvation. We believe John C. Calhoun in 1818 was the first great exponent of this idea. In another twenty years the Indian Territory had been formed. To effect it one of the most terrible outrages in the history of Christian America had been committed upon 16,000 Cherokees. This was in 1838. The story is too awful to dwell upon, but the act had the approval of Congress and reflected the will of the majority of electors. The Cherokee country became the nucleus of a great tract for Indian segregation. Could the handful of missionaries and teachers bring civilization to the Indian? Was the Indian truly separated from the evils of civilization, to develop and "work out his own salvation?" Let us examine the reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs throughout the years that followed. Here is what it said:

"Lawlessness and violence still continue in the Indian Territory. The two or three United States marshalls, sent to enforce the intercourse laws by protecting Indians from white thieves and buffalo hunters, have been entirely inadequate,"* etc.

"They are willing that the wild Indians from the plains shall be settled on their unoccupied lands, but they most emphatically object to the settlement of the wild white man from the States among them. . . . The intruders as a class, are unfit to be in the Indian country, and some measures should be adopted that will rid these people of their presence. . . . It is estimated that nine tenths of the crimes committed in the Territory are caused by whiskey, and its many aliases. It is introduced from the adjoining States, where it can be purchased in any quantity.

*Indian Commissioner's Report, 1874, p. 11.

. . . The band of desperadoes, whites and Indians, who made their headquarters in the western part of this agency, and beyond, and who were the terror of the whole country last year, have all been killed off, or placed in the penitentiary."†

"Such administration of the law in this country as is possible through the United States district courts of Arkansas, scarcely deserves the name, Practically, therefore, we have a country embracing 62,253 square miles, inhabited by more than 75,000 souls, including 50,000 civilized Indians, without the protection of law, and not infrequently the scene of violence and wrong."‡
 "This large population becomes more and more helpless under the increasing lawlessness among themselves, and the alarming intrusion of outlawed white men."

"From the tenor of the reports it would seem that the civilization of the Indians has not risen to even a second rank in national purpose. They ought not to be left the prey to the worst influences which can be brought to them, in the life and example of the meanest white men. They deserve such guardianship and care, on the part of the United States, as will secure for them the powerful aid to elevation which comes from the presence of law. These whites, once in the country, are seldom known to leave, and thus their numbers are rapidly increasing. The result will be a mixture of the lowest white blood with the Indian, thus promoting, instead of curing, the indolence and unthrift with which they are already cursed."||

"Their only fear is that the United States will forget her obligations, and in some way deprive them of their lands. They do not seem to care for the loss in money value, so much as they fear the trouble, and the utter annihilation of a great portion of their people, if the whites are permitted to homestead in all portions of their country, as is contemplated by so many of the measures before Congress."§

"They feel the pressure of the white man on every side, and, among the full-bloods especially, there is a growing apprehension that, before long, the barriers will give away, their country be overrun and themselves dispossessed."*

Here is the tragic story of the outcome of the reservation system. The United States Government could not make it a success and never can. Yet today the Indians in their various tribal divisions are governed by laws enacted to regulate the reservation system.

†Commissioner's Report for 1880, p. 94-95.

‡Report for 1874, p. 11-12.

||Report for 1874, p. 71.

§Report for 1880, p. 94.

*Report for 1875, p. 13.

With the passage of the Dawes' bill a new epoch, the third stage, was reached. The idea was to break up the reservations and give the individual Indians allotments of land, pro rata. The sovereign government refused longer to hold tribes as independent nations. A new era had dawned and the problem became an individual one. The Government and the strongest social forces refuse to admit the right of any ward-nations or circumscribed treaty-nation, to dwell independent within its borders. It is anomalous for an independent self-governing nation to need the constant supervision by another power. With civilization all about it, no Indian tribe can hope to preserve its integrity. It cannot enforce its own laws or protect itself. It has likewise been proven that the United States cannot enforce its own laws in "Indian country." Local opinion refuses to support it, when it is to the advantage of the white settlers to disobey, Human nature must be reckoned with.

The only Indians who really succeed are those who as voters or potential citizens compete in civilization as *producers*. The measure of their success depends upon their intellect and training, and, may we add, character.

Only one thing remains, therefore. The Indians as individuals must gradually take their places as other citizens of the United States, equipping themselves by a thorough schooling in all the principles of American life.

To pave the way to this goal there must be a definition of the exact status of Indians in all their various groups. The evil inheritances of the past must be eliminated. The drawback of unsettled claims must be withdrawn. The Court of Claims at Washington must be thrown open to the red man as well as the white. Why should the Government fear to settle with its wards? Does it wish to deny them a hearing? To break the grip of agency control there must be a prompt division in severalty upon the books of the Nation of all trust funds, held by the Government and belonging to Indian tribes. To dole out this money in small annuities merely conserves pauperism.

There is mighty work to do in equipping the race for citizenship and efficiency. Experiments have cursed the red man with disease, and distrust, and broken his spirit. The Indian has his work, to be sure, and he must struggle to throw off his dis-

abilities, but American civilization also has its duty. The Indian must be treated as a man and a fellow man. We believe a great commission should study the whole problem and that Congress should get a new viewpoint. But whatever is done in the way of systematic study one thing must be done, *the red American must be given the white American's fighting chance*. To this end he must be equipped for it.

We are arguing with all our power that such equipment be given through access to the courts, through a uniform status; through the stimulation of hope and the giving of as thorough manual and mental training as each individual is capable of taking. Permit the Indian to become competent, and then prove that there is indeed hope and happiness in what is so proudly called American civilization.



Let Us Discover the Human Elements of This Indian Problem

EVEN the best of us know very little of the exact details of this "Indian Problem." In most of our assertions we generalize too broadly. We are wasting our efforts and time to a large extent, and all because *certain important facts are not available*. This lack of data leads to an inability on the part of social and religious workers, educators, and physicians to handle systematically their special fields. For the sake of efficiency and economy we plead for *vital facts*. The Indian problem is a *human problem* and we must know its human elements if we are to handle it concretely.

Some time ago we made a plea for a social survey of Indian communities. We hoped that the idea would find advocates and that workers would arise to develop the plan. The facts made available by the census department or those tabulated by the Indian Bureau itself are not the personal vital facts we want. They measure the Indian in a material way and not as a social being. Since no one has arisen to suggest how such a survey should be made or what it should embrace, we present a temporary plan, which we hope will be improved by suggestions from our friends. After the preliminary facts concerning enviro-

onment have been presented we should like to know the following things:

Vital Statistics—Tribe, age, married or single, size of family, full blood, degrees of white, Negro, Mongolian blood, lives on or off reservation.

Educational Facts—Grade of education, where obtained, Government day or boarding school, public or private school, speaks good English, imperfect English, only Indian, ever employed in educational work.

Industrial Facts—Occupation, degree of success, yearly income, regular or irregular employment, owns stock, owns acres, acres cultivated, grazed, rented out, has no land, rents land, sole income from rentals or leases.

Housing and Health Statistics—Lives in house, number of rooms, lives in tent, lives in shanty or earth lodge, earth or board floor, sanitary condition, water from well, spring, stream, water hole, food principally meat, vegetable, mixed, tubercular, trachoma, health in general, insured, number of sick persons in family, takes patent medicines, consults physician when ill, consults medicine man, uses alcoholic liquor.

Religious and Social Facts—Attends church regularly, irregularly, no church, member peyote society, other native society, member American fraternity or lodge, member local social, educational club or society, reads daily paper, weekly and monthlies, what grade.

Legal Statistics—Ward, allotted ward, limited citizen, full citizen and voter, can sue and be sued.

Environmental Facts—Lives near white settlement, near agency, remote from white communities, near mission.

The Society of American Indians as an organization of Indians and their friends should stand back of the plan to collect these facts. The *Quarterly Journal* would like to stand back of this survey and place its tabulation in the hands of a census expert like Professor McKenzie if he could be persuaded to serve. A new book conveying new and pertinent facts might then be written.

We ask our friends to write the editor and tell us what they think of the plan.

Marching as to War

FOUR years ago your editor stood in the streets of Ohsweken, the capital town of the Six Nations of Canadian Iroquois, and watched the homecoming of four companies of the Six Nations militia. When the little army of Indians broke ranks in front of the Capitol building of the Nation, the individual soldiers at once went to their company headquarters and deposited their arms. All was order and the precision of movement betokened the men every inch soldiers. The other day 120 of these Indians sailed for Europe.

It is of considerable interest to know that these Indian soldiers form the four crack companies of the Canadian militia. They hold the record for sharpshooting, as they do in many other things in Canadian civil life. Under the terms of their treaties with Great Britain, the Six Nations are allies of Great Britain. Their confederacy is self-governing and its laws are practically the same as devised by their Stone Age law-giver, Hiawatha.

These Canadian Indians are loyal men. While we believe that war is a horrible thing for civilized men to countenance, we are yet glad that the Indians of Canada feel themselves enough a part of their country to enter its most vital activities. This they have done since the very beginning, when under Sir William Johnson they arrayed themselves under Captain Joseph Brant.

The Canadian system puts progress "up to the Indian" and leaves him self-governing in a large measure. Among the Canadian Six Nations the Indian Superintendent merely sits in the Indian National council as a representative of the Dominion. He is not the autocrat that an American Indian agent is, but notwithstanding this fact, Canada has no trouble with her natives. Quite to the contrary, she gets out of them a high quality of service that benefits the country and makes manhood the prime quality of Canadian Indian character.

In the years gone by the kinsmen of these Six Nations who lived up the St. Lawrence, the Caughnawagas, furnished 55 men for the Gordon expedition up the Nile. These Indians, who are probably the best pilots in the world, were chosen even in preference to Egyptian river-men to pilot the English expedition up the Nile River and over the dangerous cataracts. Who now shall say that the Indian shall not lead the way? Canada knows how to use and conserve Indian manhood. Why should not the United States do the same?

The Function of the Society of American Indians

By SHERMAN COOLIDGE,
President of the Society.

THE aim and scope of the new race movement as embodied in the Society of American Indians is the revival of the natural pride of origin, the pride of race. If people become dispirited, progress is impossible. It is easily within our memory when public opinion viewed the Indian as lacking in capacity for advancement. To the white man he was a degraded savage, blood-thirsty, treacherous, and brutal. The superior white alien accepted as truth the teaching that by Divine Will and manifest destiny the aborigine must be exterminated and driven from the earth; "it is the logic of migration, the law of human movement." So this imperious white man decreed: "The Indian must go!" The necessity of driving the Indian away from the spot he called his home and of marching him out at the point of the bayonet were both sad and needless blunders in a land where there is room for all. The white man misunderstood the Indian and the Indian misunderstood the white man. A war and extermination policy was started by the whites and the "irrepressible conflict continued for three centuries. The white invaders introduced a new mode of life, and the native type was to be supplanted by civilization. It was thought that the Indian, for his salvation, must be pressed into the white man's preconceived mold. As a matter of fact, most Indians do not want to become white men. From the first contact between the two races the Indian was considered inferior, and not at all a fellow man of like passions, infirmities, and aspirations; different only in mental texture, hereditary influences, and environment." And therein is the deep-seated disease germ of the whole Indian problem. The reservation system has fostered and accentuated the terrible ills resulting from the misconceptions of the white race concerning the red brother, and consequently the Indian has so deteriorated we can hardly realize him as the same proud monarch of fifty years ago.

To use Dr. Eastman's words: "The North American Indian was the highest type of pagan and uncivilized man. He possessed not only a superb physique but a remarkable mind. But

the Indian no longer exists as a natural and free man. Those remnants which now dwell upon the reservations present only a sort of tableau, a fictitious copy of the past."

On the anniversary of the discovery of America, in the year 1911 a conference was opened at the Ohio State University to organize the Society of American Indians, whose primary function is the revitalizing and cherishing of race pride. Once this task is accomplished the rest will follow. The organization furnishes an annual conference to which delegates of every tribe may come with equal rights. Representatives now do come from the east and the west, from the north and the south. Here, they meet face to face in national council with common language and for a common purpose; here, each Indian can see that he is not alone in the fight against the peril of being utterly crushed; here, the members gather for mutual encouragement, interchange of views and for consultation upon the live issues of the peculiar problem thrust upon them. The best asset the Indians can have is a united body of altruistic men and women of the race, and the Society of American Indians is composed of just such people, anxious to serve and who have lost no time in applying themselves to vital problems and grasping the essential features of the Indian question. The permanent program as outlined by the first organizers is found in the following statement of objects:

First. To promote and co-operate with all efforts looking to the advancement of the Indian in enlightenment which leave him free as a man to develop according to the natural laws of social evolution.

Second. To provide through our open conferences the means for a free discussion on all subjects bearing on the welfare of the race.

Third. To present in a just light the true history of the race, to preserve its records and emulate its distinguishing virtues.

Fourth. To promote citizenship and to obtain the rights thereof.

Fifth. To establish a legal department to investigate Indian problems and to suggest and to obtain remedies.

Sixth. To exercise the right to oppose any movement that may be detrimental to the race.

Seventh. To direct its energies exclusively to general principles and universal interests, and not allow itself to be used for any personal or private interest.

The existence of the Society of American Indians means that the hour has struck when the best educated and most cultured of the race should come together to voice the common demands, to interpret correctly the Indians heart, and to contribute in a more united way their influence and exertion with the rest of the citizens of the United States in all lines of progress and reform, for the welfare of the Indian race in particular, and all humanity in general. Obviously this noble movement is a tremendous undertaking, but it was ushered in amid general good wishes of church and state. It is at once a bold and a most praiseworthy step. The Society is managed solely for and by the Indians, and no one without Indian blood can be an active member, yet the white friends of the cause are welcomed most cordially as associate members. The membership at present is more than a thousand, over five hundred from the best of each race. A hearty co-operation with each other will produce splendid results; and, while conscious that he must do his full share in bringing order out of chaos, the red brother does not forget to remind his white brother that the nation which created the problem must assist in its solution and that the motto shall be: "The honor of the race and the good of the country shall always be paramount."

We were overjoyed by the fact that we could assemble so many civilized and educated men and women of vision from our scattered tribes who were in dead earnest and who were willing to pay the price of hardship and self-sacrifice as pioneers of the movement. We were not without our foe who said: "Don't listen to those blind dreamers!" "Don't lend yourselves to their false dreams!" "Their hopes are over-rosy." But some of our dreams have already been realized far beyond our expectations. Our suggestions, proposals, and advice have been received with kindly consideration everywhere. We aided in liberating two hundred and sixty Apaches who had been held in bondage as prisoners of war for twenty-six years, and persuaded Congress to appropriate \$300,000 for land and homes for them. We helped the Cayugas in getting \$247,000 due them from the State of New York. The murderer of Desota Tiger is in irons, thanks to some of our active and associate members and to Hon. Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Desota Tiger belonged to the Everglade Seminoles of Florida and was a respected member of his tribe. An Indian woman out west tried to get her money through the Indian agent and was put off

time and again by some excuse or another for a year or two, and finally wrote to our Society for its service and received her money in three weeks. The fate of a \$50,000 item in the last Indian appropriation bill was uncertain; it was for the education of about two thousand Papago children; but the bill passed, including the \$50,000 item for the Papagos, and with our assistance. Then, too, the Society is advocating the passage of the Carter Code bill and the Stephens amended bill, both of which look to the solution of the Indian problem. Nor is this all.

The foregoing statement of things achieved is only a glimpse of what we have done and what we desire to do in co-operating with the government. We must work in harmony in order that we may succeed in performing our mutual supreme duty. The Government has charge of \$900,000,000 worth of property for the three hundred thousand Indians under its care; \$100,000,000 worth of timber land, but will this timber be turned into lumber for the use of Indians, or will it be turned over to some corporation? Again, the Government holds \$60,000,000 in cash for our national wards. What shall be done with it? These subjects are of vital interest to the Indian. Besides all this there are millions annually appropriated by Congress for our civilization and education. The Society of American Indians asks: "Are we getting a proportionate good out of this vast expenditure? Is it doing full justice to the tax-payers?"

The Madison meeting was the Fourth Annual Conference of the organization, and it re-affirmed the platform of the Third Annual Conference which took place at Denver, Colo.

The Madison Conference placed the financial situation of the Society in a better light. Up to this time the Society was kept in motion apparently by a few who supplied more than their share of energy and much of the sinews of war; our treasury was forever in sore need of funds. We lived a from hand to mouth existence, and our financial inability was almost the death of us. We thought of Uncle Sam with our \$60,000,000 in cash, but by our principles we could not ask for one cent of it for the good cause; and by our principles we must not deviate an inch from the trail we are following and must ever look to the "Goddess of Liberty" to play the role of fairy god-mother. It is a comfort to know that we are free to go forth and create Indian public opinion among the white people and the Indians. The past is beyond recall. But the present offers opportunities for redeeming the past and for redress. We are

writing and making a new history and we can avoid the errors of our forefathers and plan a new day for the Indian American. Let us so shape our policy for his education that it will cease to be decultural, but become constructive; and blame him not if he refuses to become an imitation white man; if he bows not the knee to commercialism, or fails to admit that the white man is the ultimate model of the best citizenship or of noblest manhood.



The Robin's Song

BY ALNOBA WAUBUNAKI.

WHEN darkness' hours have nearly gone,
In leafy haunts before the dawn,
A cheery sound through Woodland floats;
It is the Robin's liquid notes.

When, with the creeping of the light—
The pleasant world burst into sight,
Comes ringing through the swaying trees
The Robin's song borne by the breeze.

When darkened skies obscure the sun,
When springtime rains have just begun,
Swinging in his leafy bower
Sings the Robin through the shower.

When with the stopping of the rain
The glowing sun comes out again,
Still cheery through the misty haze
I hear the Robin's song of praise.

When reddened sun begins to send
The signal that the day shall end,
I hear a song in cadence rare,—
It is the Robin's evening prayer.

Dear Robin of the solitude
How much you teach of gratitude!
How much of faith and trust you bring
To saddened hearts that cannot sing!

*Contributed especially to the *Quarterly Journal*, S. A. I.

The League of Peace

A Fragment

By GAWASA WANNEH (*Seneca*).

SINCE before the coming of the pale intruder this great peace pact has endured. A race of red men became nation indeed, and all surrounding nations came to the council hall at Onondaga to bear gifts of good will or tribute as they sued for favor."

So spoke my sachem as he looked at me with a gaze so piercing it burned to my very soul.

"When Hiawatha, as you call him, came to the last great union council he recited every law, and with Ji-gon-sa-seh, the Mother of a Nations, and Deganawidah, he bound the Five Nations into one, to stand forever as a memorial to the fact that men may be brothers indeed and reason out their differences and not resort to war. Speak the name of Deganawidah with low breath,—it is a sacred name. He was the mind, the thought, the silent maker of our Confederacy."

The sachem looked at me again and paused as he turned over the pages of a book I had handed him. Then he continued.

"Not one who has read our history can deny that our constitution was an instrument of peace and a model for human government. I sit in my log cabin by this creek as my great grand sires sat in their bark lodges ages ago and I laugh or I weep as I think of the thoughtlessness of human kind."

The Sachem's head bowed low and he leaned upon a curiously carved staff. He was an Onondaga and a Fire Keeper of the Six Nations, or likewise called the Iroquois Confederacy. His reservation lay only seven miles from Syracuse, N. Y., and within it was the council lodge of the Onondaga and the Capitol of the Six Nations' Confederacy. The stream of which he spoke was Onondaga Creek, the water-way of Hiawatha in the olden day. The chief, Atotarhoh, by name, spoke in his rich rolling native tongue. His deep set black eyes were moist as he had uttered his last words. He bent, silent for a full ten minutes during which he scarcely moved, then in the flicker of the fire light he lifted his face into the changing play of dancing lights and shadows.

"My brother of the Great Hill people," said he at last, "I have a message for you. You shall be my runner and shall bear my words to the world."

Stooping to a corner of the fire place he lifted up a basket filled with a dried herb. It was oyenkwa-oweh, the sacred incense used on occasions when invocations were made. He filled his hand with the crushed leaves and cast them on the coals in the open grate.

"Do thou now listen," said he as he cleared his throat, "As my word is true, I lift my words on this smoke as it ascends to our Creator. My words are the truth or he will strike me dead for mockery.

"So now again do thou listen. We were a nation and a confederacy before we knew of these pale younger brothers. We had a constitution woven in our wampum belts and strings of shells. We had our laws and international regulations. At Onondaga we planted a peace tree, under whose branches all nations might come and sit. Its four white roots ran to the four directions and all men could find this peace tree. Our founder, Deganawidah, brought our nations together in a peace never broken between us. We are here to-day even after the great invading pale nations of our younger brothers tried to drive us away, so enduring is our great binding law.

"Again do thou listen. Bear this message to the pale younger brothers. Long before we knew them we gave our women the right to nominate every civil officer in our government. We guaranteed to them the ownership of all land and all buildings. Towns of long houses were prosperous and our states well ruled when our women made the sachems by their voices.

"What in vanity the younger brothers call now 'the initiative, the referendum and the recall' we had centuries ago in our forest empire. We were then a mighty people and our dominion was from the East Salt Sea to the Warm Water Gulf afar south; it ranged west to the Long Muddy River and north to the Big Cold Bay. Alas, we were compelled to preserve peace by subduing the rebellious and jealous tribes about us.

"Again do thou listen. We were faithful to our allies of the crown of England. Our nation divided because of loyalty to our compact, and some went in to Canada, there to set up again a confederacy. Here we stand as a monument. There they sit as a memorial to the idea of peace and friendship between nations. One hundred years ago we were the allies of

the United States, and our Canadian brethren the allies of Great Britain. To-day each branch of the Iroquois League is an independent nation, and every treaty says this is so. We are still Iroquois. We have a message to all men. Our 'great minds' have called out clearly in voice and in deed. Aye, they have served well. The world has heard.

"In the old days in our religious council, the Hodeosa, we called the roll of our illustrious sachems and chanted the peace hymn we call 'Hail, to the Noble (Hai-i Royaneh!) To-day I shall call the roll of men who have taught our pale younger brothers great lessons in peace and valor. Remember, then, and do thou listen! Remember Dekanawideh, author of our peace pact, builder of our government. Remember Hayowentha (Hiawatha), the orator and spokesman, the kind conciliator. Remember Garangula, Shikillimy, Skenandowa. Remember Colonel King Hendrick, the friend of Sir William Johnson, the sage and counsellor who fought and died that English might be spoken here. Remember Captain Joseph Brant, the loyal friend of England, the gentleman and student, the supporter of churches. Remember Logan, the Mingo-Cayuga whose kinsmen have just been paid for stolen lands.* Remember Red Jacket, the orator whose logic never yet has been answered. Remember Handsome Lake, the peace prophet and temperance reformer. And so remember Cornplanter, Blacksnake and Old King.

"Do thou continue to listen to the roll of those who made our name famous and who spread Iroquois thought as a fine oil over the brains of men,—they who for our great name lived and died!

"Remember the men and women of a century ago who fought to repel British invaders from our border: Colonel Farmers Brother, Capt. Little Billy, Capt. Young King, and many others. Remember, too, the score of Oneida women who dressed like men and bore muskets to preserve their nation and bring strength to the United States.

"Then in later days when again war broke out as a devouring wild beast, our men still willingly served!"

The old man waved his arms upward as he called the names of his country's heroes. The ascending smoke of the incense, bursting like a cloud from the smouldering back log, cast strange, vapory shadows on his rugged bronzed features. Glistening tears

*Governor Wm. Sulzer, of New York, ordered that the Cayugas be paid \$264,000, after they had sued in State courts for 117 years.

were coursing down his cheeks as his emotion stirred beyond his control.

"So continue to listen," his voice almost choked, "and remember! Then came our younger men trained in schools and colleges. They led our young warriors into the fight. It was our country, and it seemed but a duty to preserve the federation that we had advised the men of the Thirteen Fires to form. How often did we call upon Sir William to unite his colonies! And now so soon the great bonds were to be sundered because of disagreement over black men. So we, two, fought to preserve the Union. Three hundred from the Senecas enlisted. Many more from the other tribes joined the army. We gave them Captain and Doctor Jacob Jemison, a naval surgeon, and Dr. Peter Wilson, a Cayuga sachem, as a surgeon in the army. He was our special pride, as a graduate of Dartmouth and Bellevue. We gave them Gen. Ely S. Parker, the military secretary of General Grant. He was the great sachem of the Senecas and the advisor of his people, and once Commissioner of Indian Affairs. We supplied other men who merely fought, but did so faithfully.

"So, likewise, our Canadian brothers gave men to their nation, doctors, writers, soldiers and business men. Who can rival Dr. Ohronhyateka, the great Forester and Fraternal expert, or Pauline Johnson, the sweetest poetess of Canada!

"Remember, then, that all these men and women spread Iroquois ideals to the world, and like a leaven do they spread through the land. Even to-day we have our young men who, proud of their noble blood, prove that they are royaneh (noble) and that within them is the "orenda" that pushes them on to achievement.

"Who, then, shall seek to beguile us, who shall seek to rob us, to slander us as cumberers of the ground, and stamp our history as one of savages!

"Continue to listen and remember to relate all I have told you, for even the histories of our pale younger brothers attest my words. Our nations and our confederacy stood for great ideals. We so stand now as ever.

"Three centuries have passed since we first met the pale invaders. Each year of the three hundred has been marked by the increasing encroachments and demands of this pale people. They are thoughtless and build their civilization in bricks and iron wheels, forgetting to conquer the savagery and selfishness

of their own hearts. Alas, they know not as a race that they have branched off wrongly and are using their precious endowments for exploitation. So three great nations have come experiment. The strongest forces of arms brought against us to us only to confuse us. How could we tell the difference between what was true and what was false until we had suffered by French, Dutch and English; the most subtle legal proceedings and the pressure of public opinion all have operated to push us into eternity or to the west lands beyond the Mississippi. But do thou remember we are Iroquois, Men of Men, and we linger even now in our old dominion of Ganona.* We are red men and Iroquois, independent and undismayed, even in the Empire State of the greater nation. Aye, we are red men still in the very heart of civilization!"

The old sachem's voice rang with the vibration of deep emotion. He paused and looked searchingly at me once more and then cast another handful of incense in the fire, as he said:

"Listen well, and forget not to tell the pale younger brothers this message I give you. Tell them to truly follow the way of peace, to follow peace that leaves their own souls at rest with themselves and brings a repentance that will wipe away the memories of wrongs. Tell them to live truly as brothers and friends and cease to struggle to devour one another, for that is not peace. It is not the love our founder taught and not the charity their great teacher exhorted them to follow. If they will remember this, then shall we have no more trouble and they shall in truth be happy!

I promised solemnly to do as Sachem Atotarhoh had ordered, and as I gave him my hand and withdrew it he turned back his coat collar and showed me an emblem fastened there. It was the copper eagle of the mounds. Three letters stood out upon the circled border. They were "S. A. I."

And then I knew that the man of the old regime had joined with the man of the new in a peace pact, and in a fraternal bond that over-stepped the mere thought of tribe or nation and linked all red men as one people, "for the honor of the race and the good of the country."

As he has spoken, so I have spoken.

*A native name for New York.

*The Indian Must Assume Responsibility if He Demands Rights**

BY HON. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT.

I AM glad to have the opportunity of sending a word of greeting to a Society organized for the uplift of the American Indian.

One significant and hopeful sign, prophetic of good results, is the fact that the more advanced representatives of the race are awaking to a realization of their duty and privilege of extending a helping hand to their more backward brothers. This idea is prominent in the formulated beliefs and stated objects of the Society. The proposition that the Indian is entitled to a voice in the settlement of the problems affecting him is so clearly correct that argument in its support would be superfluous.

Another proposition embodied in the statement of the beliefs and purposes of the Society is "that Indian progress depends upon awakening the abilities of every individual Indian, the realization of personal responsibility for self and race, and the duty of responding to the call to activity." The Indians are being absorbed as individuals into the body politic, and this process will be more rapid in the future. The problems pressing for solution are not so much those relating to the Indian as a race, but more those affecting him as an individual, and even of the latter the more important are those affecting him as a citizen, or potential citizen. Citizenship involves more than benefits to the individual. There are obligations and burdens toward the community which he must recognize and assume. Any plan for the development of the Indian as an individual must, to be successful, include efforts to impress upon him the fact that he must accept the responsibilities if he demands the benefits of citizenship.

The Society of American Indians has great possibilities for good and I wish you every success in the undertaking.

*From the letter of President Taft to the Secretary, written in 1912.

Our Indebtedness to the American Indian

By LEO J. FRACHTENBERG.
of the Smithsonian Institution.

CIVILIZATION and culture are the result of an extensive co-operative system to which every individual inhabiting our globe contributed and still contributes his share. No achievement, be it literary, economic, or scientific, has ever been accomplished by a single man or group of people without the aid that has resulted from the efforts of those who had previously directed their energies toward the attainment of a certain goal. Our present philosophical systems owe their origin to the studies of human mind and nature made by ancient and medieval scholars. Our writers draw their inspiration from the works of their predecessors, and our great scientific inventions have been facilitated by the former endeavors of the savants of all nations. Thus, our present civilization consists of an infinite number of elements contributed by every people, every nation, and every race of this universe. American culture, for instance, has been effected by the combined efforts of the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Teutons, Slavs, Semites, Mongols and others, each of these groups contributing its particular, typical portion.

It should not, however, be supposed that only the higher and more advanced types of nations participate in the creation of a certain given civilization. In this respect everybody's co-operation is invited and welcomed, and no services, even those of a most primitive character, are rejected. We Americans, especially, who are probably the most civilized and advanced people in the world, owe a great portion of our progress and success to primitive races, above all to the American Indian. How many of us, will, in blissful ignorance, underestimate and even ridicule the intellectual prowess of the red man, and boast of the superior attainments of the white race? And yet, many of our accomplishments may be traced directly to the assistance received from the "red skin." An examination of our culture reveals to us the fact that the influence of the Indian on our civilization has been far-reaching and comprises every phase of our intellectual, political, social, agricultural and industrial life.

A few years ago the late Dr. Chamberlain, of Clark University,

tabulated a list of the contributions made by the Indian race to our civilization. To that list the present writer has added further material, a mere glance at which will convince us of the fact that we owe a great deal to the Indians of North and South America.

Of the fifty States and Territories that form this great Union of Stars and Stripes, twenty-five derive their names from native Indian words; while the number of cities, mountains, lakes, streams, and bays that owe their appellation to Indian descriptive terms is legion. Our daily speech abounds in terms and expressions that have been taken from the various Indian tongues. It is estimated that over 300 words of our present vocabulary have been borrowed from such sources. One only has to think of expressions like buccaneer, canoe, cannibal, chocolate, coyote, hammock, hurricane, hickory, mahogany, maize, moccasin, pumpas, potato, quinine, raccoon, skunk, squaw, tobacco, toboggan, totem, tomato, tuxedo, wigwam and others, to get an idea of the extent of this system of borrowing.

But the red man did not confine his contributions to our vocabulary to single words only. There are a number of phrases in our language which owe their origin to the Indian mode of speech. How many Americans to-day use expressions like fire-water, squaw-man, pale-face, medicine-man, happy-hunting-grounds, to bury the hatchet, to smoke the pipe of peace, to go on the war-path, etc., without knowing that these are phrases taken from the Indian languages? In some instances we have received from the Indian words and ideas that have become powerful factors in our daily life. I shall mention only caucus, chautauqua, mugwump, and Tammany. Can anyone imagine American politics without "caucus?" Can anyone think of the city of New York without its "Tammany?"

Let us now turn our attention to the field of literature. What a wealth of material has been offered by the Indian to our writers past and present! Indian life and traditions have been an inexhaustible source of inspiration to English-speaking novelists, poets, and dramatic writers. Bryant's "Prairies," Longfellow's "Hiawatha" and "Burial of the Minnesink," Whittier's "Mogg Muggone," Lowell's "Chippewa Legend," Cooper's "The Last of the Mohicans," Dryden's "Indian Queen," Campbell's "Gert-rude of Wyoming," and many others, are literary products that were inspired by the red man. The literary fame of men like Defoe, Kingsley, Lew Wallace, Bandelier, King, Haggard, and

Robertson is due mainly to their narratives of Indian life. And if we add that during the last decade our painters, sculptors and musicians have become gradually attracted by Indian subjects, we shall have a complete picture of the great debt which we owe to the Indian of North and South America in the field of literature and art. Furthermore, our history, so resplendent with brilliant characters, has been embellished,—thanks to the red man,—by a number of heroes who could easily adorn the history of any nation. Pocahontas, Pontiac, Tecumseh, Brant and others have won for themselves a place in the annals of mankind and have contributed their share to the glorious past of our Nation.

But the bulk of the Indian's contribution to our civilization and culture does not lie in our intellectual and literary attainments. It is our material life that owes him an everlasting debt and upon which he bestowed benefaction after benefaction, gift after gift. Take our commercial life, for instance, of which we are so justly proud. Who thinks to-day of the fact that our railways and railroads follow exactly the paths, made, trodden, and kept up at an enormous sacrifice, by the ancient, pre-Columbian Indian? As the late Dr. Chamberlain says, "It was not an empty boast when, in 1847, an Iroquois chief appealed to the white man for help upon the following grounds:"

"The Empire State, as you love to call it, was once laced by our trails from Albany to Buffalo; trails that we had trodden for centuries; trails worn so deep by the feet of the Iroquois *that they became your roads of travel*, as your possessions gradually ate into those of my people. Your roads still traverse the same lines of commerce which bound one part of the Long-House to the other. Have we, the early possessors of this land, no share in your history?"

Our industry, stupendous as it is, has been enriched by a number of substantial devices which we learned from our red neighbor. Every grocer knows and appreciates the value of arnotto, the famous dye for staining cheese and butter, but he is not aware of the fact that it has been given to us by the Indian. In like manner we received from the red man the cochineal, a red tinge for animal fibers and for coloring certain foods, and also a score of other dyes. Ornamental timbers and dye-woods we owe to the previous knowledge and experimentation of the Indian; and the various uses to which we apply

mahogany and logwood to-day are the results of his early, though primitive, enterprises. Llama wool, alpaca, hems and fibers are other industrial articles imparted to us by the Indian with a generous hand. But above all, by showing us the usefulness of caoutchuc (India rubber), which we employ nowadays so extensively in mending old things and forming new ones, the American native has won the right to claim the everlasting gratitude of our manufacturers. And these items by no means exhaust the long list of contributions made by the Indian to our industrial progress.

Our agriculture, too, has been touched by the beneficial influence emanating from the Indian, for he has taught our farmers the use of fish manure, the burning over of fields as a preparation for planting, the planting of corn on hills, and many other important methods. One need not necessarily be a farmer to appreciate the value of these agricultural innovations. The fisherman to to-day in following his occupation, still resorts to a number of devices that originated with the Indian. Thus, he is indebted to him, among other things, for the use of the fish weir, for the method of catching fish by means of narcotic poisons, and for the practice of catching eels and salmon by torch-light. In like manner, the hunter received his share from the primitive American, learning from him the application of the blow-gun, so as not to injure the skin of the animal, and the method of trailing and capturing larger animals and wild beasts.

It has been remarked that we Americans could not live without recreations. Has it ever occurred to us how much we owe to the Indian in this particular respect? We love to go "canoeing" in the summer; we devote ourselves to "tobogganing" and "snow-shoeing" when our streets and hills are covered with snow; our sons in college bend their energies upon winning a "lacrosse championship" for their alma mater; our South American neighbors spend a great deal of their time in playing raquette, but few of us know that these pastimes have been handed down to us by the Indian. Even our comforts and luxuries are not free from this all-comprising influence. Panama hats, Navajo blankets, hammocks, moss bags, moccasins, snow-goggles, dogsleds, micmac grass, all these are gifts of the aborigines. And tobacco, this curse and blessing of our civilization, does it not come from the Indian? Even if we have to admit that tobacco is doing an enormous damage to our communities, are we to blame the Indian for it? The fact remains that its cultivation

has become the basis of prosperity in a number of our States and other countries.

If the above-mentioned gifts have entitled the Indian to our everlasting gratitude, his contributions to our supply of food have made him the real benefactor not only of our own country, but also of the whole world as well. By teaching the early settler the planting of potato and maize, he has changed, as if by a magic touch, hitherto bare and uncultivated regions into thrifty, prosperous States. Suffice it to say that without the cultivation of potatoes and corn Ireland, northern Germany, Roumania, and a number of our wealthiest States would be nothing but wild, unoccupied regions. And the generosity of the Indian did not stop here. There is a vast amount of items in our daily food that we received through the direct or indirect mediation of the Indian. Tomatoes, squash, hominy, pumpkin, Lima Beans, pineapple, custard apple, persimmon, cacao, vanilla, manioc, agave, guava, artichokes, quinoa, pemmican, chewing gum, peanuts and maple sugar are only some of the articles obtained from the red man. And we must not forget that drinks like mate, labrador tea, chocolate, cocoa, pulque and chicha are of Indian origin.

The last, but not least, contribution made by the Indian has been in the field of medicine. Aside from the fact that our forefathers resorted very often to the medical treatment of Indian doctors like Joe Pye in New England, and that even to-day we hear so much about Indian cures and Indian remedies, our great medical and surgical progress has been greatly facilitated by the Indian. Can any one conceive of the present state of surgery and medicine without cocaine, quinine, yerba santa, cascara sagrada, jalap, jaborandi leaves and curari? And these are drugs and antidotes for which we are indebted to the previous knowledge and experimentation of the Indian.

Such has been the contribution of the "red skin" to our civilization and culture! And how was "Poor Lo" rewarded for his services by the "superior" race? If we should constitute ourselves into a public court and judge honestly our actions toward the Indian and those of the Indian toward us, the verdict would decidedly not be in our favor. We have robbed the Indian of his soil, we have broken his spirit, we have debauched his mind, we have undermined his health, and doomed him to destruction. The valiant "Wild Son of Yesterday" is no more! His life belongs to the past, and he is slowly dragging his weary feet to the grave, which we, his "brave conquerors," have dug for him.

But while leaving this world for the unknown fields, where he expects to be united with his ancestors in eternal beatitude, the Indian takes with him the proud knowledge that his aboriginal life here has not been useless, that he has contributed his share to the civilization and culture of mankind, and that this name will never be forgotten. To use Dr. Chamberlain's words, "He bequeaths to posterity manifestations of a useful existence that are more lasting than monuments of stone or marble . . ." for in the words of one of our poets—

"The memory of the Red Man,
How can it pass away,
While his names of music linger
On each mount, and stream and bay?"



To My Friends The Indian Graduates

BY GABE E. PARKER.

AT a local meeting of the Society in Philadelphia last winter a Committee was appointed to communicate with Indians who are graduates of Government schools inviting their attention to The Society of American Indians as the one national organization through which Indians can assist each other. You are urged to give this your personal consideration as your individual opportunity to render service directly to your people and your country. Those of our race who have educational advantages and have had the chance to learn the ways and means of present conditions and requirements of life are under obligation to their less fortunate brethren to offer a helping hand.

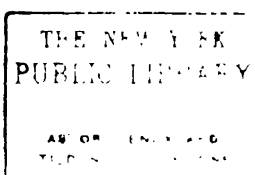
The Indian has an illustrious past with many deeds of valor and qualities of virtue to commemorate his natural worth, but his future must be carved by more dextrous hands with untried tools, in strange material. With assistance and perseverance there can be no doubt of the result, and it is your duty to contribute of your blessings to the end that the American Indian shall occupy that honorable and useful position in the life of the nation.

The affairs of the tribes are fast merging into the life of the nation and the councils of the many tribes should give place to the great council of The Society of American Indians, where the social, political and economic welfare of the American Indian shall be freely discussed for "The honor of the race and the good of the country." Your co-operation is needed and we believe you will regard this as your opportunity to serve your people.



MRS. J. D. GOULETTE, *Pottawatomie*
Vice President on Education

Mrs. Goulette, who before her marriage to J. D. Goulette, a Sioux Indian and a leading citizen of Shawnee, Okla., was Miss Emma D. Johnson, was a highly successful teacher at Haskell Institute. She has always been a loyal defender of her race,



*Education of the American Indian**

By HENRY ROE-CLOUD (*Winnebago*).

EDUCATION is for life,—life in the workaday world with all its toil, successes, discouragements and heartaches. Education unrelated to life is of no use. "*Educare*"—education is the leading out process of the young until they know themselves what they are best fitted for in life. Education is for complete living—that is, the educational process must involve the heart, head, and hand. The unity of man is coming to the forefront in the thought of the day. We cannot pay exclusive attention to the education of one part and afford to let the other part or parts suffer. Education is for service—that is, the youth is led to see the responsibilities as well as the privileges of his education, so that he lends a helping hand to those who are in need. Indian education is no exception to these general principles.

The educational needs of the Indian can be best seen in the light of his problem,—he has before him a two-fold problem, the white man's problem and his own peculiar racial problem. The problem confronting the white child is the Indian's problem for, if the goal for the Indian is citizenship, it means sharing the responsibilities, as well as the opportunities, of this great Republic.

The task of educating the American young is a stupendous one. The future welfare of the American nation depends upon it. Children everywhere must be brought into an appreciation of the great fundamental principles of the Republic as well as the full realization of its dangers. It required long, toilsome march of peoples across the waters to give us our present-day civilization. Trial by jury came by William the Conqueror. America's freedom was at the cost of centuries of struggle. America's democracy is the direct and indirect contribution of every civilized nation. The wide-open door of opportunity was paid for by untold sacrifice of life and labors. The sturdy and brave frontiersman, the gradual extension of transportation facilities westward, the rise of cities on the plains, so great and rapid has been this progress, that already the cry of conservation of our natural resources is ringing in our ears.

*Delivered before the Mohonk Conference, Oct. 16; submitted by title before the Society of American Indians' Conference, Oct. 6-11.

To lead the white youth of the land into an appreciation of the history of American institutions, into their meaning for this generation and the generation to come, so that somewhere in the course of his education he feels possessed of some permanent interest which commands all his ambitions and devotion, is no small task.

Along with these great blessings there are the national dangers stalking through the land. I need but mention them.

The stupendous economic development has meant the amassing of great and unwieldy wealth into few hands. It has meant the creation of a wide gap between the rich and the poor. The industrial order has been revolutionized by the introduction of machinery. There has now grown up the problem of the relation of labor and capital. Our railroad strikes and mine wars are but symptoms of this gigantic problem. Immigration and the consequent congested districts in our cities has put the controlling political power in the hands of the "boss." There is the tenement problem of physical degeneracy and disease. It requires no prophet to foresee the increase of these problems and dangers owing to the war now raging across the sea. The desolation of those countries, the inevitable tax burdens, will mean an even greater influx of immigration into this country.

There is the problem of "fire water" that has burned out the souls of hundreds of thousands, to say nothing of the greater suffering of wives, mothers, and children. There is the big national problem of race prejudice. Is America truly to be the "melting pot" of the nations?

These are the problems confronting the white youth, and, I repeat, they are the Indian's problems, also. Beside this, the Indian has his own peculiar race problem to meet.

There is the problem of home education. Education in the home is almost universally lacking. The vast amount of education which the white child receives in the home—a great many of them cultured and Christian homes, where between the age of ten and fourteen the child reads book after book on travel, biography, and current events—goes to make up for the deficiencies of the public schools. The Indian youth goes back into homes that have dominant interests altogether different from what he has been taught at school. I have seen many a young man and young woman bravely struggle to change home conditions in order to bring them into keeping with their training, and they have at last gone down. The father and the mother

have never been accustomed, in the modern sense, to a competitive form of existence. The father has no trade or vocation. The value of a dollar, of time, of labor, is unknown in that home. The parents have not the insight into educational values to appreciate the boy's achievements and to inspire him further. What is to be done under such circumstances? In many cases he finds himself face to face with a shattered home. The marriage problem, the very core of his social problem, stares him in the face. Many a young man and woman, realizing these home conditions, have gone away to establish a home of their own. As soon as the thrifty Indian accumulates a little property his relatives and tribesmen, in keeping with the old custom of communal ownership of property, come and live at his expense. There was virtual communal ownership of property in the old days under the unwritten laws of hospitality, but the omission, in these days, of that corresponding equal distribution of labor plays havoc with the young Indian home.

What is the Indian youth to do under such circumstances?

The Indian has his own labor problem. He has here a race inertia to overcome. The sort of labor he is called upon to do these days is devoid of exploit. It is a change from the sporadic effort to that of routine labor calling for the qualities of self-control, patience, steady application, and a long look ahead. Shall he seek labor outside the reservation? Shall he work his own allotment? What bearing has his annuity money and his lease money on his labor problem? Does it stifle effort on his part? Does it make him content to eke out a living from year to year without labor? If he works, how is he to meet the ubiquitous grafter with his insistence upon chattel mortgages? How is he to avoid the maelstrom of credit into which so many have fallen?

The health problem of the Indian race may well engage the entire attention and life work of many young Indian men and women. What about the seventy to eighty thousand Indians suffering now from trachoma? What about thirty thousand tubercular Indians? Is this due to housing conditions?

There is the legal problem to which special attention was called in this conference. Is the Indian a ward of the Government, or a citizen? What are his rights and duties? His legal problem involves his land problem. Ought he to pay taxes? Will he ever secure his rights and be respected in the local courts unless he pays taxes? Is not this question most fundamental?

Shall the Indian youth ignore the problem of religion? Of the many religions on the reservation, which one shall energize his life? Shall it be the sun dance, the medicine lodge, the mescal, or the Christian religion? Shall he take in all religions, as so many do? What do these different religions stand for?

There is finally the whole problem of self-support. If he is to pursue the lines of agriculture, he must study the physical environment and topography of his particular reservation, for these in a large measure control the fortunes of his people. If the reservation is mountainous, covered with timber, he must relate his study to it. If it is a fertile plain, it means certain other studies. It involves the study of soils, of dry farming, irrigation, of stock-farming, of stock and sheep raising. The Indian must conquer nature if he is to achieve his race adaptation.

My friends, here are problems of unusual difficulty. In the face of these larger problems—city, State, and National, as well as the Indian's own peculiar race problem, and the two are inextricably interwoven,—what shall be the Indian's preparation to successfully meet them? What sort of an education must he have? Miss Kate Barnard told us something of the problem as it exists in Oklahoma. Into this maelstrom of political chicanery, of intrigue and corrupting influences of great, vested interests, shall we send Indian youth with only an eighth-grade education? In vast sections of that Oklahoma country 90 per cent. of the farms of white men were under mortgage last year. It means that even they with their education and inheritance were failing. Well might one rise up like Jeremiah of old and cry out, "My people perish for lack of knowledge,"—knowledge of the truth as it exists in every department of life—this can truly make us free.

The first effort, it seems to me, should be to give as many Indians as are able all the education that the problem he faces clearly indicates he should have. This means all the education the grammar schools, secondary schools, and colleges of the land can give him. This is not any too much for the final equipment for the leaders of the race. If we are to have leaders that will supply the disciplined mental power in our race development, they cannot be merely grammar-school men. They must be trained to grapple with these economic, educational, political, religious and social problems. They must be men who will take up the righteous cause among their people, interpret civilization to their people, and restore race confidence, race virility. Only

by such leaders can race segregation be overcome. Real segregation of the Indian consists in segregation of thought and inequality of education.

We would not be so foolish as to demand a college education for every Indian child in the land irrespective of mental powers and dominant vocational interests, but on the other hand we do not want to make the mistake of advocating a system of education adapted only to the average Indian child. If every person in the United States had only an eighth-grade education with which to wrestle with the problems of life and the Nation, this country would be in a bad way. We would accelerate the pace in the Government grammar schools of such Indian youth as show a capacity for more rapid progress. For the Indian of exceptional ability, who wishes to lay his hand upon the more serious problems of our race, the industrial work, however valuable in itself, necessarily retards him in the grammar-school until he is man-grown. He cannot afford to wait until he is twenty-four or twenty-five to enter the high school. This system is resulting in an absolute block upon the entrance of our ablest young people into the schools and colleges of the land which stand open to them. There are hundreds of the youth of the oriental and other native races in our colleges. As an Indian it is impossible for me to believe that the fact that there are almost no Indians under such training to-day is due to the failure of my race in mental ability. The difficulty lies in the system rather than in the race. According to the census of the last decade, there were three hundred thousand college men and women to ninety millions of people in the United States, or one to every three hundred. In the same proportion there should be one thousand college Indian men and women in the United States, taking as a total population three hundred thousand Indians. Allowing for racial handicaps, let us say there should be at least five hundred instead of one thousand Indian college men and women. Actually there is not one in thirty thousand, and most of these in early life escaped the retarding process in the Government schools.

This is not in any way disparaging the so-called industrial education in the Government Indian grammar schools, such as Carlisle, Haskell, Chilocco. Education, as education that seeks to lead the Indians into outdoor vocational pursuits, is most necessary. Our Government Indian Bureau feels the need for vocational training among the Indians, and I am very glad that it does. Productive skill we must have if we are to live on in

this competitive age. However, in this policy of industrial training for the Indian youth the Government should not use the labor of the students to reduce the running expenses of the different schools, but only where the aim is educational, to develop the Indian's efficiency and mastery of the trade. Recent Congressional charges of shifting students from one trade to another, so that they master no trade, have been made and the charges sustained. I worked two years in turning a washing machine in a Government school to reduce the running expenses of the school. It did not take me long to learn how to run a washing machine. The rest of the two years I nursed a growing hatred for that washing machine. Such work is not educative. It begets a hatred for work, especially where there is no pay for such labor. The Indian will work under such conditions because he is under authority, but the moment he becomes free he is going to get as far as he can from it. I, personally, would hail the day with joy when the Government Indian schools can redeem the moral discipline of even drudgery work connected with the schools by some system of compensation of value received for work expended. Others before me, such as Dr. Walter C. Roe, have dreamed of founding a Christian educational institution for developing a strong native Christian leadership for the Indians of the United States. I, too, have dreamed. For, after all, it is a Christian education that is going to solve these great problems confronting the Indian. Such an institution is to recognize the principle that man shall not live by bread alone and yet at the same time to show the dignity and divineness of toil by the sweat of one's brow. The school is to teach self-support. The Indian himself must rise up and do for himself by the help of Almighty God. It is to be Christian education, because every problem that confronts us is in the last analysis a moral problem. In the words of Sumner, "Capital is another word for self-denial." The gift of millions for Indian education is the people's self-denial. In whatever activity we may enter for life work, we must pay the price of self-control if we are to achieve any degree of success. The moral qualities, therefore, are so necessary for our successful advance. Where shall we look for our final authority in these moral questions? We must look to nothing this side of the Great Spirit for our final authority. Having then brought into the forefront of the Indian race men of sound morality, intellectual grasp, and productive skill, we shall have leaders who are like the great

oak tree on the hill. Storm after storm may break upon them, but they will stand because they are deeply rooted and the texture of their soul is strong.



Commissioner Sells Visits Hampton

HON. CATO SELLS, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, visited Hampton Institute on November 22d. The Commissioner was with Oscar H. Lipps, Superintendent of Carlisle School, and John Francis, chief of the Education Division of the Indian Bureau. The avowed purpose of Commissioner Sells' visit was to discover the secret of Hampton's success and to imbibe the spirit of its enthusiasm.

After spending Sunday with the 45 Indian boys and girls at the Institute, the Commissioner affirmed that all that had been said concerning Hampton was in his opinion more than justified. He commented on the definite purpose and deep earnestness he found in the student body.

While at Hampton, Commissioner Sells remarked upon the vast property holdings of the Indians, stating their value as about a billion dollars. White men are waiting to determine whether or not the young Indians can demonstrate their capacity for self-support. If the young Indians fail, then the next generation will not be given an opportunity, for by that time the white race will have sufficient excuse for appropriating what the Indians have. "Young Indians," he continued, "must meet new conditions and do the things that their mothers and fathers could not do, thereby justifying themselves and those who come after them." He repudiated the doctrine that the Indian is a vanishing race, and added that the Indians should be treated in the personal and property rights just as so many white persons under like conditions.

The Commissioner most emphatically stated that no man ought to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs who is unwilling to throw himself on the altar of the red race, regardless of criticism, censure, and misunderstanding that may come to him. To the Indian he said that the problem of learning how to do things worth while in life is the serious problem that all Indians must face. This is the problem that Hampton has been helping Indian students to solve for half a century.

Can the Apache Children in Arizona Receive Higher Education Without the Consent of Uneducated Parents?

BY HOKE SMITH, (*Apache*).

MORE or less has been written and said of the necessary needs and wants of the different Indian tribes located in the different parts of the United States, but for a long time the cousins of the famous Geronimo, the White Mountain Apaches in Arizona, have wondered when and where they come in for consideration. Their needs and wants are many and are entirely emergency in nature, requiring immediate consideration by the proper authorities.

The White Mountain Apache tribe comprises about 90 per cent of full bloods and nearly all others are half-breed Chiricuhua Apaches.

The census, showing a population of 2,485 for the year ending June 30, 1914, is an increase of 88 over that of last year.

Out of 826 school population, 217 are attending boarding school, 116 days school, 7 non-reservation schools, 231 not physically able to attend any school, and 255 should be in school for whom no provision is made.

The ruling of the Government that no children of any age shall go to non-reservation school or off the reservation without the consent of the parents does not at all agree with the outlook of the boarding and day schools of the reservation. These schools are required to accomplish so much and no more. They only bring boys and girls to where they want something different, better, and on a larger scale. I have personally known of several cases where an ambitious boy came to the agency and asked for a transfer to a near-by non-reservation school. He was referred to his parents only to be disappointed. The boy knew that the old folks did not want him to go to school at all, and urged the agent to send him against his parents' wishes, but the agent did not have the authority to gratify the boy's ambition, being bound by Government regulation to honor the wishes of the parents who have no way of knowing what education means.

The old Indians, or "the old timers" as they are often called, are perfectly satisfied as they are to-day and for the simple rea-

sons that they do not know that there is a better way of living and how to more truly enjoy the results of honest labor. But just so long as the sending of their children to school is left entirely in their hands the Apaches (who are ignorant of the value of schools) they will be as they are to-day fifty years hence, and, as at present, they will lack knowledge of the harm done by not permitting their children to be educated. Thus they will continue to be a burden to the Government and an injury to themselves and their children, and yet not be wholly to blame. While the old Indians can do many things that some of us cannot do, and are educated in their own ways, they have not had the opportunities to adjust themselves to the new conditions as some of us have had.

The natural resources in grass and timber of the reservation are sufficient for the maintenance and education of the 2,485 Indians of the White Mountain Apache tribe without the contribution of a cent from the Government.

This tribe in reality is one of the richest in the United States, but unless the money derived from the use of their lands, and money to be made on their extensive timber, is put to the very best school advantages, the Apaches will never make good citizens. At present it will not do to invest their money in roads and bridges, as advised by some of our pretended white friends. In the case of this particular tribe the Government should use their money to educate them before trying to make bridges.

The only industries in which there is much hope for these Indians is that of cattle raising and lumbering. The timber has not much value until there are means for transporting the lumber to market. The timber should be cut under the direction of intelligent and honest foresters. It should be sold and the proceeds should be placed to the credit of this tribe and expended for them under the authority of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Those of us belonging to this tribe who have learned through the advantages of Indian schools how to write and read are indeed very glad to read the different items on the Indian question by our present Commissioner covering new strength of mind and body, new ideas, inspiration, and hope for the future.

The members of the tribe desiring to do something for the best interest of their people earnestly request that the Society of American Indians devise some method whereby Indian children over 15 years of ages of this particular tribe, can obtain higher

education if they so desire without the consent of their parents.

We believe that money used for Indian education is a wise expenditure and not a waste, neither a charity nor payment of a debt, but a wise investment returning as good proceeds progressive, useful men and women who live the life worth living.



Your Double Duty

SOMETIMES a man or woman's attention is fastened upon things so close at hand that they neglect to look up and get a broader, wider, clearer vision of life and duty. We believe that it is the duty as well as the privilege of every Indian to become a member of this Society. That conviction receives strength when we read the words of a great white man delivered to a group of resolute Indian young men and women. At Hampton there are 45 of the most promising Indian youth in the country. This is what Commissioner Cato Sells said to them:

"When you go home, give value for value received. *On no race of people rests so great a responsibility as on the Indian young men and women today.* You have the opportunities of education. If you fail to make use of these opportunities, the next generation will not have them. You must look beyond the mere duties and details of today. You must not come here simply to get a good education. Come because you have the vision to accomplish something for your people."

There is a world of truth in these words of Judge Sells. We wish that every Indian might study the inner meaning of this advice. Then we wish that every Indian youth might see that he must not only accomplish something for himself but go far beyond self and accomplish something for his people. Upon the Indian there is a double obligation. My Indian friend, it is not enough to be doing fairly well. The necessities of your race demand that you exert yourself to the utmost. Your people need that service and the world expects it. *Upon your shoulders rests the fate of the race,—your race. Your response measures the depth of your character.*

*The Legal Status of the American Indian**

By ARTHUR C. PARKER, (*Seneca*).

IN ALL stages of civilized society the great bulwarks safeguarding its integrity are interdependent. Thus, the social economic, intellectual, and religious conditions of a people depend very largely upon their legal condition, and vice versa.

In our attempt to civilize and assimilate the Indian we have neglected to afford him one of the most vital rights of mankind, that of a definite legal status. This has never been determined, and the Indian has been variously called a "domestic subject"[†] and "a perpetual inhabitant with diminutive rights."[‡] The Indian as neither citizen, alien nor foreigner has occupied and now occupies a precarious position in our national life. We legislate for him and then tell him his fate is in his own hands. In the same breath we also tell him three other things," that he cannot sell his own land, or use his own money held by the Government, and that he is not subject to taxation as other able-bodied men are."^{||} We rely upon religion and education, coupled with industry, to accomplish the sought-for ends with the Indian, but until there is provided a definition of the Indians' legal status in their various groups and bands, human beings will continue to go to waste, and religion, education and industry will suffer for lack of appreciation. These civilizing forces will fall as seed upon ground only fertile in spots. Shining examples of religious and educational training will continue to be the exception rather than the usual.

Definite legal status in an organized community has an important psychological value. It is for want of this subtle psychological asset that the Indian suffers most grievously. It is the root of most of his material evils. Witness the change that has come upon the red man of the plains in the last fifty years. The old initiative and independence have been crushed out of the masses, and in spirit "the poor Indian" is low indeed. Whatever Sitting Bull as a man may have been, he expressed a great thought when he exclaimed to General Miles: "God Almighty

*A paper read at the Lake Mohonk Conference, October 14, 1914.

†Attorney General Cushman.

‡U. S. *vs.* Bridleman, 7 Fed. Rept., 898, et seq. *Gibbons vs. Ogden*, 7 Wheaton, 189, etc.

||F. A. McKenzie, "The Indian," p. 30.

made me; God Almighty did not make me an agency Indian, and I'll fight and die before any white man can make me an agency Indian." He expressed his horror of surrendering a known status for one he could not know. In his native state each Indian knew what his status was. It was a part of his intellectual life to know it. He felt himself a man and a master. In his present state, wherein he is ruled over and thought for, he feels himself the insignificant non-represented minor and ward that he is. Not knowing what his rights are or what will come next, he becomes chronically despondent, careless, and often degenerate. Out of an undefined status and the resultant uncertainty springs the host of evils deplored by the church, the school, and the Federal departments. These evils are treated with much solicitude by the moral and social forces of the country, but no one seems to recognize a deeper lying cause. Congress, urged by many petitions, steps in and legislates upon the symptoms of the disorder, failing likewise to see a cause beyond.

In my various writings I have frequently used the term, "the legal status of the Indian," but I find that this term is not well understood by some quite familiar with legal expressions. One newspaper editor misquotes and even mildly scores me for "urging the legal status of the Indian," thinking I mean immediate citizenship. For the sake of clearness let me present my definition:

The rights and duties, the privileges and restraints that an inhabitant of an organized community may enjoy or be obligated to by the laws of the country, and that he with the citizen body and the courts clearly knows, constitute his legal status.

There is confusion and anarchy if there be no definition of what those rights and obligations are. There is demoralization and misery where there is incomplete or obscure definition, for then the very foundation of society is insecure. The feeling of insecurity as a conscious or subconscious factor means the coming of all evils. The reservation Indian has his heart strangled by the fears that beset him. He does not know what will happen next. He knows that something is being done to him and perhaps for him, but having little or no part in its initiation his interest may be only a morbid one. He cannot help matters one way or the other. This produces a paralysis of every virile

mental force. It is appallingly true that the majority of reservation Indians do not even know what their rights are or where or how to turn in case of difficulty. A well-educated Indian woman in pleading for her tribe three years ago said: "My people don't know when they are citizens and when they are not. They send word to the Department, 'We want thus and so,' and the Department sends word back, 'You are citizens of the United States; we cannot do that for you.' Then they send for something else, and word comes back, 'You are wards of the Government; we cannot grant you that.' Now in what position do we stand?" Out of this uncertainty a feeling of helplessness and hopelessness arises and with it all too often ambition dies. The people then only improvidently drift through existence, greedily grasping at every chance claim or snatching at every pittance meted out. The sense of thrift and attainment is thus destroyed. Religion and education cannot be appreciated by a desponding people. *Civilization conveying its religion and education must be consistent in the acts it performs and provide for a legal status for its wards, or hopelessness will continue and faith languish. Let me then say to the conscientious friends of the Indian that a determination of the Indians' legal status is by far the most important matter affecting the welfare of the red race in the United States to-day.* This fact is plainly pointed out in Professor McKenzie's book, "The Indian," a work that I urge every student of Indian affairs to study with care. It is by far the most lucid analysis of Indian matters now in print, yet I venture that this modest author has not placed his thesis in the hands of more than a dozen members of this conference.

Reservation Indians are broadly divisible into two grades, the pure *ward* and the allotted *citizen-ward*. The allotted Indian having his limited patent to a parcel of land is theoretically a "taxed Indian." The chances are, however, that he pays no taxes and has but a hazy notion of what true citizenship means. A further review of the classes of Indians reveals the non-taxed ward, the taxed allottee, the non-citizen Indian, and the citizen Indian. Out of this classification, though natural and legal exigencies, all sorts of combinations arise to make definite status a difficult thing to determine. The result is confusion and endless litigation, to the congestion of the Indian Office and the delight of the claim lawyer. Another view of the inequality of status is shown by a survey of the Indians in the various States. Indians of like capacity and situation, as has already been

pointed out by Professor McKenzie, in Oklahoma are citizens, in New York non-citizens. Allottees in Nebraska are citizens, in Wyoming non-citizens. The allotted Indian may or not be a citizen according to the state in which he dwells, notwithstanding Federal control over all. In the State of Wisconsin, citizen Indians are wards of the Nation; in Maine, of the State; in New York, Indians are wards of both State and Nation. In North Carolina, 7,000 Indians are citizens of the State and not of the Nation. But whatever the Government may intend by citizenship to the Indian, the Indian allottee usually finds the name a mere fiction, and that although a citizen of the United States he has a Federal agent ruling his destiny. In many cases this is most humiliating, as I might illustrate by examples.

A consideration of these facts reveals the significant conclusion that no series of definite grades has ever been established that in a uniform way will lift the Indian from a state of pure wardship to complete citizenship. The lack of a definite series of steps has led to much miserable confusion and prevented any true freedom. In realization of these facts the Denver platform of the Society of American Indians states: "Of all the needs of the Indian, one stands out as primary and fundamental. As long as the Indian has no definite or assured status in the Nation, so long as the Indian does not know who and what he is and what his privileges and duties are, there can be no hope of substantial progress for our race. With one voice we declare our first and chief request is that Congress shall provide the means for a careful and wise definition of Indian status through the prompt passage of the Carter code bill." This paragraph affords an idea of what the Indians themselves, through their leaders and their friends, think of the matter. The Carter code bill here mentioned is one introduced by the Society of American Indians in 1912, its operative passage being as follows: "That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed to appoint a Commission of three men qualified by legal and sociological training, as well as by acquaintance with Indian affairs and needs, to study the laws governing and the circumstances affecting the various tribes and groups and classes of Indians and to report [in a given period] a codified law determining the status of the Indians of the United States in accordance with existing legislation and the future best interests of these natives."

It is my belief that the report of such a commission would be most illuminating. The draft of a codified law that it would sub-

mit, once passed by Congress, would provide the means for bringing the Indian up definitely, step by step, until he entered the status of complete citizenship. It would work to determine the status of the various groups in such a manner that every Indian might know, and every citizen might know, what the rights of and duties of every Indian were, without resorting to litigation about it or appealing to the Interior Department. Citizenship would be the goal ahead. There would be nothing behind to look back toward. This would then be a spur to endeavor and the road to citizenship would be definite and secure.

In passing, it may be said that if a revised code and the requirements of the bill could be met by a private commission, or one such as suggested by Senator Robinson or Professor Moorehead, the boon would be most welcome. It would seem, however, that a special commission of well equipped, highly paid men, appointed by the President, would have the greater weight with Congress. We only ask, however, that the thing be done.

Professor McKenzie, in the *Journal of Race Development*,* points out the need of the principles for which we have argued and presents a table suggesting a plan for dividing the Indians into grades. He suggests, for the purpose of outlining his plan, that the Indians who are wards be classed as, first, tribal wards holding communal land, and, second, allotted wards holding land in severalty and having allotted trust funds. Over the communal Indian ward there would be governmental control of land and trust funds through agency administration. The allotted ward would have Federal supervision of land contracts and trust-fund expenditures. The second class of grades would be the citizen-ward and the full-citizen Indian. The citizen-ward would hold his land in fee, have control of his own funds and have a legal standing in the courts. The Government would have a review of his contracts prior to signature, or within three months thereafter. The citizen Indian would have all privileges and disabilities of the rank. This plan, which is not at all revolutionary, is used only as a suggestion for arranging the series of grades, without arguing the adoption of it without further consideration. A commission once appointed might hit upon some other happy plan of similar nature as a working basis for a better grasp of the situation.

In the working out of the plan as suggested, every Indian of

*Vol. III, No. 2, 1913. Republished in the *Quarterly Journal*, S. A. I., Vol. I, No. 4, 1913.

every grade would know exactly what his legal status was, what his rights, duties, responsibilities, and restrictions were. He would know how he might relieve himself of his restrictions and disadvantages and step upward to a higher grade, and finally into the status as a contributing, sustaining, positive element of the country in which he lived. The courts, the Federal Indian Bureau, and the citizens of the country would have full knowledge of what a classified Indian was and how to deal with him. The feeling of certain status, of legal security, the knowledge of a definite goal ahead, would afford the culture forcing incentive most necessary to bring the Indian into our national life as a healthful efficient factor.

This plan provides for a new epoch in Indian affairs. Once the legal status is determined and a series of grades established, there will be a more rapid transition from lower to higher stages. Justice will then become a more common matter and civilizing agencies profit by the happier minds of the people. The path to freedom and self-government will be paved and we shall mark the passing of "ward" and "subject," and ultimately give to the Indian now possessing "diminutive rights" every right that the Nation vouchsafes to its sovereign people.



A GREAT FRIEND'S ADVICE.

"Contact from now forward must be more and more with the whites; influences being sometimes very good and sometimes very bad. As a friend of the Indian I have given much time and considerable substance. The *effort* of the Indian from within individually and collectively, must be the prominent factor in developing Christian Citizenship.

"I value the *Quarterly Journal* and feel it gives us some of the best current Indian literature. Value your history and your inheritance as much as you wish to aspire to Christian citizenship and attain it as rapidly as possible, assuming all responsibilities equally with privileges."—*E. M. Wistar, in a letter to the Editor.*

*Why Most of Our Indians Are Dependent and Non-Citizen**

BY GEN. R. H. PRATT.

IN THE three hundred years since European civilization began grasping what is now the United States, the hunting resources sustaining three hundred thousand natives have disappeared and a development of the soil and other resources bountifully maintaining a hundred millions of civilized people has been substituted. The civilized people have increasingly advanced the country and themselves into marvelous prosperity and foremost nationality, among other accomplishments importing, civilizing and absorbing into citizenship ten millions of black aborigines from the Torrid Zone of another continent. During this same period and under the same control of the civilized people the native aborigines have been segregated from the other population and so abominably treated as to become helpless, wasted by disease, and even abject, and so dependent as to lead civilized people to give ten millions of dollars annually to keep up the separation.

These fortunate and unfortunate and most contradictory results and conditions have a perfectly logical explanation, showing that the praise in the one case and the blame in the other is due absolutely and wholly to the contrivances of the civilized people and not to any lacks of the native people.

Unity of language and industry are first essentials to the unity of peoples.

Using the great law of necessity, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," in one case enforced activity, health, and productiveness among the millions, and setting aside of that law in the other case bred idleness and disease and all their ills among the thousands at vast Government expense for support and care.

The System manages the red aborigine, and by expensive segregating in tribal masses makes our citizens pay vast money for all the spectacularity, folly, and failure of it.

The System and reservation are essentially co-ordinated in one great function to keep the Indian from merging into the national life, which merging would in itself have utilized and saved him.

"Reservating" and segregating the Indian in tribal masses

*Submitted as a paper at the Society of American Indians' Conference Madison, Wis., Oct. 6-11, 1914. Read also at Lake Mohonk Conference, Oct. 16.

away from civilization not only continued his old life and kept him a burden, but it enabled his exploitation as a bugaboo, to the profit of notorious interests.

"Comparisons are odious," but how can we make plain the odiousness of a system except by multiplying and urging comparison? The black man was brought here and the ten millions of him made useful and citizen. The red man always here, only three hundred thousand of him, *continued* a non-citizen, made a pauper at a total Government cost of more than five hundred million dollars and a present annual outlay of more than ten million dollars. Men of all nations and every quality invited into the national family and promptly utilized and clothed with its freedom and citizenship until the influx reaches a million a year, more than three times as many in one year as all of our Indians, always here and yet denied these privileges. Did ever "straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel" have a more perfect illustration of inconsistency?

There is a tap-root somewhere in the Indians' case which is responsible for the inane monstrosity of his treatment and its resulting forlorn condition. That tap-root is the System adopted for his management. Placed in supreme control, every influence reaching the Indians must kow-tow to the system's over-lording. Its supremacy and importance hinges on thorough segregation and its ability to dominate every tribe and every individual Indian to control all legislation and all administration to that end.

Whether tribally conspicuous, numerous and noted, or few, remote, and unnoted, or whether individually obscure or risen to the dignity of national legislators, the System, with frequent army helps, has in one way or another brought every tribe and every Indian into subservience to the System's administration.

If it is his land, the System suggests, engineers, and concludes the metes and bounds of that and the freedom of its uses, always to the last degree, however, maintaining the System's grip.

If through the System's methods he has large funds, they fall under the System's absolutism and are doled to him at the System's option and oftener to the Indian's ruin than to his benefit, because the Indian has not been taught the wisdom of its uses and is easily led to pass it over to the greedy white man for a song or that which depraves.

If it is his education, the System concludes that, both in its where and its quality, always, however, with reference to such limitations as insure continued dominance by the System, never

with reference to full preparation for and individual escape from that dominance into the freedom of citizenship.

If it is his industries, the System contrives the kind, quality, and quantity and the where and how he shall learn, and mainly where and how the industry is to be used, mostly under the System's direction, and much of it under the System's pay.

If it is the Indian's health, there the System has been pre-eminently supreme in working the Indian's ruin through using the despair of isolation, idleness, insufficient feeding, hovel housing, neglect of sanitation, scant medical attention, and ignoring all the facts of the growth of disease and death and the causes. Through these the System has brought the Indians into such physical degeneracy and fatal disease as to make necessary its appeal to Congress to appropriate vast sums to build many hospitals to care for the scourges its methods produced and which these same methods still incite on a scale so vast that no hospital resources can compass, cure, or atone for them. Do you want proofs? Go with me to dozens of Indian reservations and I will show you right now the disease-breeding methods of housing and the vile conditions under which the Indians are forced to live and give you amplest proof of the inefficient care and scantiness of and disease-breeding food provided, and the harmful methods of issue. These alone are full warrant for the deplorable health conditions among our Indians, which conditions are not paralleled in the history of the world for prolonged, unconcerned, and infamous cruelty.

We made the negro work, and he increased in numbers and health. Egypt made the Israelites work, and they became a vast horde.

Forced, hired, and persuaded tribally onto reservations and to come under the care of the System, the Indians by its methods have been deprived of all their old-time initiative and manly self-support. Their case has never been thoroughly and intelligently investigated by any discerning body directed thereto with a view to the adoption of a humane and supreme general course of action to which administration must conform. Here is where a wise, capable, and heroic Board of Indian Commissioners would have been invaluable. Each System's chief has been largely a law unto himself, but he oftener fell under the System's devious methods than dominated them. If what he proposed looked to the System's perpetuity it passed. If System tenure was threatened, the System's machine used embargo and elimination, and this course

was applied to beneficent projects suggested or instituted in the field service by worthy employees working under the System.

I said "forced." The Indian was forced into treaties and onto the resulting reservations. Government officials wrote the treaties, and army presence compelled acceptance. Were the treaties then kept? General Sherman, who headed the greatest of all Indian treaty commissions, said: "The Government has made hundreds of treaties with the Indians, and never kept one."

Can't you see that being hindered from going outside the reservation into civilization for his development in civilization compels the Indian to accept the totally inadequate opportunity for civilization doled to him on the reservation?

I said "hired." Can't you see that rations is hire; that annuities is hire; that tribal homes schools is hire; that *all the reservation machinery is hire to remain on reservations in tribal mases*; that even allotment of lands contiguously in each tribe is hire to stick together, and that all these "hires" are hires to remain tribally under the System's supervision, assuming that the system will do for them all that is necessary and that the Indians not being allowed to know any better became inevitably subservient to it? Can't you see that if the Indian could escape from the System and get out among civilized people, his eyes would open and he would then apprehend things as they are and be stirred to become a healthy factor in the country's affairs?

Can't you see that if out of the millions of dollars appropriated annually we pay at the rate of forty-nine dollars for the support of purely Indian schools to every one dollar we pay to enable them to get into our general schools with the other children of the country, that the purely Indian schools become a hire to continue racially separate under the System?

Can't you see that if we reversed the order and paid forty-nine dollars for educating Indian youth in our own schools and among our people to every one dollar we pay for purely Indian schools, that our civilization would get into them forty-nine times faster, and that the same principle applies to all they must learn in order to become acceptable citizens? Does not every dollar we pay to educate emigrant children force them into our amalgamating common schools?

Can't you see that all schemes to improve the Indian's stock and enlarge and manage its quantity and all their other resources tribally under the scheme's supervision become a hire to remain in tribal masses subordinate to the scheme?

Can't you see that all these contrivances mean the System's enlargement and continuance and little or nothing toward any escape of the Indian from that control out into real citizenship?

Can't you hear the System's pleading voice for prolonged control in the emunciations urged on the public attention, "He is the original inhabitant and is so picturesque;" "He has such beautiful art;" "such enchanting music;" "We must improve but not transform;" "He loves his children; we must not break up families;" "His property must be protected," and many others of like quality? Are his picturesqueness, his art, his music, his Indian identity, his family relations, his property more important to be preserved than those of other men or the man himself? If in preserving these we destroy the man, where is the gain. When have we hesitated to encourage the breaking up of the families of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea, or to promote the abandonment of their race qualities in order that we might gain and develop men of all races into our vast and unique body of citizens?

Is not all change of every sort transformation? Is there an Indian anywhere in the United States that is not being transformed by his constantly changing environment?

Was it not stupidity of administration to adopt as a Government purpose in Indian management the doctrine of "Improvement but not transformation?"

Is it hard to see that if the same fraternity, brotherhood, and merging we used to unify the other races had been adopted in our relations with the Indians, the Indians would long ago easily have become a useful and contented part of our population?

Did we start right? Are we trying to get right?

Will any good come from polishing up and improving a System that destroys instead of saves; that continually invents adroit ways to keep up separation rather than adopt well-proven and common-sense methods to bring about merging?

Can't you see that Indian civilization and real independent citizenship means death to the Indian System?

Don't you know that about the hardest thing in this world to get rid of is a system of any kind organized to handle somebody and their money and property so long as the money and property holds out?

The so-called "Indian Problem" has always been the *Indian System*, never the Indian.

The Menace of the Wild West Show

By CHAUNCEY YELLOW ROBE (*Sioux*).

YEARS ago some Indians chiefs went to Washington to see the "Great Father," and while they were in the city, an old army officer who used to fight these warriors on the plains in the west invited them to dinner and told of his experiences on the old frontier. One of the chiefs, who had no experience in table manners, imitated the old officer by eating whatever he saw the general eating. The general took some horse radish and spread it over his meat. The chief did likewise and, after testing a spoonful of it, hung his head and shed tears. The general saw his misery and asked, "My friend, why are you crying?" The chief replied, "My friend, I am thinking of how you and I used to fight each other on the plains and when I remember how my brother was nearly killed on the battle field it makes my tears come."

I feel like the Indian chief in this case when I see the old hunting and battle grounds of our forefathers, in which now civilization has taken place; but I do not come before you to-night with the intention of declaring a Sioux outbreak on the frontier settlement or to stir up a strife, but wish to call your attention to the evil and degrading influence of commercializing the Indian before the world. The solution of this question is now in the hands of the Government.

It is now more than four centuries ago since Columbus came to our shores and claimed the country and gave us the name of Indians, and at the same time inaugurated the first Indian show by importing some of the Indians across the water for exhibition before the Spanish throne, and to-day the practice continues to exist in the wild-west Indian shows.

Some time ago, Judge Sells, the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, said: "Let us save the American Indian from the curse of whiskey." I believe these words hold the key to the Indian problem of to-day, but how can we save the American Indian if the Indian Bureau is permitting special privileges in favor of the wild-west Indian shows, moving-picture concerns, and fair associations for commercializing the Indian? This is

*Delivered by Chauncey Yellow Robe, of Rapid City, S. Dak., at the Fourth Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians, held at Madison, Wis., October 6-11, 1914.

the greatest hindrance, injustice, and detriment to the present progress of the American Indians toward civilization. The Indians should be protected from the curse of the wild-west show schemes, wherein the Indians have been led to the white man's poison cup and have become drunkards.

In some of the celebrations, conventions, and county fairs in Rapid City and other reservation border towns, in order to make the attraction a success, they think they cannot do without wild-west Indian shows, consequently certain citizens have the Indian show craze. In fact, the South Dakota State Fairs always have largely consisted of these shows. We can see from this state of affairs that the white man is persistently perpetuating the tribal habits and customs. We see that the showman is manufacturing the Indian plays intended to amuse and instruct young children, and is teaching them that the Indian is only a savage being. We hear now and then of a boy or girl who is hurt or killed by playing savage. These are the direct consequences of the wild-west Indian shows and moving pictures that depict lawlessness and hatred.

Before the closing history of the nineteenth century an awful crime was committed in this great Christian nation. It was only a few days after the civilized nations of the world had celebrated the message of the heavenly host saying, "Fear not, for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy which shall be to all people;" and "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, good will toward men." A band of Sioux Indians, including women and children, unarmed, were massacred. The wounded were left on the field to die without care at Wounded Knee by the United States troops just because they had founded a new religion called "The Indian Messiah." This was a cowardly and criminal act without diplomacy. Twenty-three years afterward, on the same field of Wounded Knee, the tragedy was reproduced for "historical preservation" in moving-picture films and called "The Last Great Battle of the Sioux." The whole production of the field was misrepresented and yet approved by the Government. This is a disgrace and injustice to the Indian race.

I am not speaking here from selfish and sensitive motives, but from my own point of view, for cleaner civilization, education, and citizenship for my race. We are here to-day to consider the means to find support for our cause in this present generation, if it is ever to be settled. We have arrived at the point where the great demands must be met. "To the American Indian let there be given equal opportunities, equal responsibilities, equal education."

The Effect of Wild Westing

By E. H. GOHL, (*Tyagohwens*).*

A DETERMINED stand should be taken by all true friends of our American Indians to discourage and prevent whenever possible Indians making engagements with wild-west shows, theatrical troupes, circuses, and most of the motion-picture firms. The Indian gains nothing of real value from the associations and environments he meets, and his pathway to self-help and progress is interrupted and only too often seriously checked.

Theatrical agents invariably take from the reservations the very element that should remain at home,—boys and girls still attending school, and adults who may not have attained steady habits of study or industry in school, on the farm, or in the shop.

The smooth tempter and corrupter arrives on the reservation at the most opportune season,—early spring, when, after the long and dull winter months have passed, the blood in the Indian begins to move, for pleasure, excitement, or work, like sap in the maple,—and falls a ready victim to the briber. The Indian youth is thus robbed of the spring and fall months at school, and the adult is taken from his farm or trade at the very time he should be in his field or at his bench in the shop.

From every point of view, touring the country with shows is demoralizing and a menace to the Indian. And all for a "*dollar a day and feed*," with a good deal of the white man's "rough house" thrown in. A wild-west show's contract is simply a sheet of "guaranteed-to-catch fly-paper." Thousands of Indians have been deceived and stranded in far-away places and the "folks-at-home" had to pay their way back.

Both sides lose, the white as well as the red man. The spectator gains no real knowledge of the manners, costumes, and institutions of the Indian. Show managers compel the red man to act the white man's idea of a war dance. All is burlesque. The whole thing is deception.

There is one reservation where the circus agent in the future will most likely be asked to "please shut the door from the outside." This is the Onondaga Reservation near Syracuse, N. Y.

Early in March, without the knowledge of the writer, an agent for a German circus, with headquarters at Berlin, Germany, was

*Mr. Gohl is an adopted clansman of the Onondaga.

successful in engaging 16 Onondaga Indians (12 men, 3 women, and 1 babe in arms) to tour Europe for nine months. The salary offered was a dollar a day and expenses. In due time they reached Berlin, and divided into two parties for two German circuses, each group having a western cowboy or leader. War broke out. One circus stranded at Trieste, Austria, the other at Essen, Germany. The German members immediately joined their regiments, and the Onondagas were abandoned to shift for themselves.

Realizing the situation, the writer wired the Secretary of State at Washington on August 5th to cable the United States ambassadors and consuls to locate, protect, and send home the Indians. Six week later, after many telegrams and letters to Washington, they were found, some at Hamburg and other at Stockholm. Nine have reached the reservation and seven were to have sailed from Christiana, October 17th.

The Indians who returned had a tale of hardship to relate; abandoned, days without food, suffering from bodily violence from German mobs, and arrested as Russian or Servian spies at every city on the way to Hamburg, though all had United States and German passports. All the Onondaga Indians wear the white man's clothing.

Much credit is due Hon. J. R. Clancy, Congressman from Syracuse district, for the safe return of the Indians. He took the matter up most energetically with the State Department and carried the matter to a successful issue.

There are perfectly legitimate and wholesale engagements Indians can make. No possible objections can be made to Indians taking part in local historical plays and pageants designed to correctly portray historical or ethnological facts, when under the auspices of colleges and historical societies in localities near their reservations. Such events stimulates the white man to acquaint himself with the real red man of the past and show the Indian of to-day as he is. Throughout the Eastern States at the present time, local historical events are being presented in the form of plays and pageants, and it is encouraging to note the increasing demand for archeologic and ethnologic accuracy in staging scenes in which the Indians occupy no inconspicuous parts.

Only a few days ago the writer stood before the shelves of works on the New York Iroquois in the State Library at Albany, N. Y. Within a few minutes, five persons took from the shelves

books on this subject for reference or research. The contrast between the morbid curiosity to see the red man as a savage in war-paint and the desire to see the Indian as a fellow human being, with the aid of good books by the family fireside, is a great advance. Dr. F. G. Speck, in the January *Quarterly Journal*, makes a just plea when he says, "Educate the white man up to the Indian."



Open the Court of Claims

NOT all the legal tangles in Indian property affairs can be straightened out in a single year, but the discussion of the years past has made fairly clear what the initial step should be. All the property claims against the United States government, whether they should prove to amount to fifty or even one hundred in number, should be given a prompt hearing and a final disposition. With them out of the way another remedy or method will be at hand for the solution of the next large group of legal problems.

The remedy is a simple one: *Open the United States Court of Claims to Indian tribes and groups.* There are of course many possible dangers involved in such a plan. Unless the measure adopted by Congress is carefully safeguarded, it will prove a source of new evils. The just settlement of the claims must be made as nearly certain as possible. The procedure should be made as inexpensive as possible for the Indian litigants. Exorbitant attorneys' fees should not be tolerated. No private fortune should come out of either Indian or government hands to attorneys concerned in the case.

Great care has been taken to secure an ideal bill. After careful consideration and upon expert advice as to what the provisions of such a bill should be, it was found that Mr. Stephens of Texas had, on February 3rd, 1912, introduced a bill in the House of Representatives which met the ideal requirements to a remarkable degree. The Legal Aid Committee has deemed it wise to suggest changes in only 3 points, and the changes consist in mere additions calculated to safeguard the interests of both parties involved in any claim and to facilitate the early and complete execution of the decisions of the Court of Claims, and in the omission, as indicated by stars in section 2, of a few words which omission it is believed will not affect the intent of the law but will remove a possible ambiguity in its wording. A just settlement, a prompt settlement, and a final settlement are the objects in mind.

—From The Society's "Appeal to the Nation."

Results of the Madison Conference

BY F. A. MCKENZIE, PH. D.

BEFORE every Conference of the Society of American Indians there have been forebodings and fears. This was true this year. It is an exceedingly difficult thing to gather a body of Indians at their own expense of time and money to consider the solid and serious but intricate interests of their new difficulty. They came from many tribes, situations, and places. Their ideas frequently do not agree. On various topics they see "rocks ahead." And yet where intensity of interest tends to divide, devotion to race and society always held them together. Forgetful of minor questions, great principles or a frequent spirit of harmony have brought the Society at the close of each Conference to more confidence in itself and to greater strength for the work that lies ahead. Harmony was the product, as well as the keynote, of the Madison Conference.

This fact was illustrated in various ways. The re-election of the old officers was one of the evidences, not only of an appreciation of their services, but of a desire to forget minor differences, to forget errors, even if necessary—and all human agents are subject to errors—in order to demonstrate that the Society was harmonious and could maintain a course unchanged by the ripples of personal feeling. Of course there were differences of opinion, but they were plainly thrashed out in executive sessions and public meetings, and out of those frank discussions the integrity of good intentions rose strong and clear above the errors, real or imaginary, of action, and furnished the basis of enduring confidence in each other and of solid harmony in the Society. And harmony based upon integrity and frank discussion is the only harmony worth while.

The second evidence of harmony was the raising of \$1,800 in cash and subscriptions right at the Conference. A deep and united belief in the Society brought that sense of personal responsibility which means effort and sacrifice. And as the members invest their money in the Society they are giving their hearts. Honest hearts can agree even when honest heads can not.

This consummation of harmony was matched by a forward movement of real significance. It was decided to have assistant secretaries to represent each considerable tribe in each state.

These assistant secretaries will serve in a measure as field agents, with the special object of enlisting new members in the Society. The plan means publicity, wide-spread knowledge of the purposes of the Society, a very much larger membership, and therefore larger funds and larger power. The Society is rapidly to become the real spokesman for the wishes and higher interests of the Indian people.

Conscious of its integrity, of its unity, and of its power, the Society decided that the moment had come for a more direct appeal to the President and the Congress of the United States for the consideration of those changes in legislation and administration which they believe are imperative at the present moment. With conviction profound and hearts united, the Society will ask for a hearing before the President of United States during the first week in December. It is believed that the President will be glad to receive the memorial of his Indian friends.

The members of the Society and all their friends, so many of them as can, are urged to be present in Washington when the memorial is taken to the President. They are also asked to write at once to Mr. Dennison Wheelock, of West De Pere, Wis., chairman of the committee having the matter in charge, and to make all possible suggestions as to what that memorial should contain. Anyone who has knowledge of wrongs that need righting, and of legislation that needs passing, will do well to send their suggestions and information, so that it may be considered for incorporation in this document, which the Society hopes will so clarify the situation as to bring prompt action from the National Government.

The Madison Conference did a great work for the Society. It opened the way for each member to do more for the good of the Indian people. Let us hope that each of us will do all that we can, and not forget that each can do something.

Platform of Fourth Annual Conference, Society of American Indians

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., Oct. 6-11, 1914

THE Society of American Indians, in Fourth Annual Conference assembled, adopts and reaffirms the principles and purposes set forth in the platform of the Third Annual Conference, and we urge upon our members increased activity in the promotion of those principles and purposes as the highest form of service to the American Indian. We call upon our own people to lay hold of the duties that lie before them, to serve not only their own race as the conditions of the day demand, but to serve all mankind.

In this behalf our hearts go out in sympathy to our blood brothers, the struggling peons of Mexico, and we express our profound sense of gratitude to the President of the United States for his attitude on the Mexican situation. The cause of the Mexican Indian is our cause. They are attempting by force of arms, we by force of public opinion, to obtain equality before the law.

We commend much of the good that has been accomplished by the present administration of the Indian Bureau, and we recognize in Commissioner Sells a man of lofty purposes, constructive ability, and sincere devotion to the work committed to his hands. Nevertheless, we realize great needs not yet relieved on our reservations, and great fundamental changes necessary in our national legislation, policies, and administration. We look to the President, to Congress, and to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and his Bureau for immediate remedial measures.

We reserve the further and specific demands of our Society for presentation in more detail in a petition and memorial to the President and Congress of the United States and to the Bureau of Indian affairs with regard to the need of a careful revision and codification of Indian law and the definition of Indian status; the just trusteeship and distribution of tribal funds; the efficient allotment of lands; the wise utilization of mineral and water resources; the settlement of tribal claims through the Federal Court of Claims; adequate education; and the just settlement of many specific grievances on the several reservations.

We call upon every man and woman of Indian blood to give of himself to the uttermost that our people may live in a higher sense than ever before and regain in that sense a normal place in this country of free men.

We equally invite to our standards an increased number of associate members of the other races to co-operate with us.

Our final appeal is again to our own race. We have no higher end than to see it reach out toward a place where it will become an active, positive, and constructive factor in the life of this great nation.



CHARLES E. DAGENETT (*Peoria*)
Vice President on Membership.

Mr. Dagenett, who is the U. S. Supervisor of Indian Employment, has been one of the most energetic workers since the beginning of the Society. In many a financial crisis he has been the business head.

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History-Making News

The Fourth Annual Conference of Indians and Their Friends

THE Fourth Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians was held at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., on October 6-11.

It was in all ways a substantial success. The hearty co-operation of President Van Hise, of the University, and the tireless efforts of Dr. C. E. Brown, of the Historical Society, gave the conference members a splendid opportunity for presenting the aims and purposes of the organization. For Dr. Brown's unselfish labors he was elected an honorary life associate.

The Conference received its chief inspiration from the presence of Prof. F. A. McKenzie, its chief patron and founder. Professor McKenzie had just returned from Paris, where he had lingered long during the Pan-European war, making certain sociological studies.

The conference faced some grave problems but met them all in a way that brings the Society great honor. The sincerity with which the conference faced its problems demonstrated the depth to which its principles had gone in the hearts of its members and officers. It could not have achieved the success it did however without the moral backing given by the loyal associates who were present. They were able better than the Indian members to relate just how the organization was regarded by the public. This assurance became the basis of a wave of enthusiasm that swept the conference on to new life. The Society now realizes in a measure its responsibility in both races.

The conference decided upon the plan of establishing local centers on each reservation where information about the society might be had near at hand. The necessity of urging the acceptance of our platform already announced at Denver led to the adoption of another plan.

A large delegation of members will carry a memorial to the President of the United States, embodying the specific results and requests of the Conference. At that time a local meeting will be held in Washington, D. C., at which there will be many brilliant speakers both Indian and white.

The Madison Conference re-elected its entire Executive Committee and Advisory Board. The administration of President Coolidge was thus highly commended.

Indian Conference a Success

THE Fourth Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians was held in Madison, Wis., October 6 to 11. Very unfortunately the secretary and treasurer was unable to be present, and his absence was keenly felt. Because of the time consumed in deciding questions of organization, policy, and finance, there was less discussion of Indian affairs as a whole than in previous years. As in most infant organizations, the annual dues and the few donations received have not met the expenses. The deficit was made up by the members present, and pledges were given which insure the beginning of an income for the future. All of the officers were unanimously re-elected, and it is hoped that Mr. Parker will see his way clear to give all his time to the Society. If this can be arranged it will be the beginning of its larger usefulness, and it is justly felt that he is the one man who can carry on the excellent work already begun, especially as editor of *The Quarterly Journal*. A determined effort is to be made to make the Society more widely known, and local secretaries were appointed on several reservations. It was suggested that this plan be followed also in the large Government schools. The constitution remains as heretofore, except for the change necessary to permit the president's re-election.

At the close of the Conference there was a general feeling that its affairs were on a firmer foundation than ever before, and that the good work already accomplished justified all the efforts that had been put forth. Mr. Coolidge spoke at one of the sessions of the active work of the Society in helping to free the prisoner Apaches, in getting larger appropriations for the education, and in other lines of work. He also outlined what the Society proposes to do in the near future. It is hoped that the Robinson bill, which will codify the laws and determine the status of the Indian, may be pushed, and that the Court of Claims may soon be open to the native American, the only race in the country to whom it is now closed.

The resolutions adopted are of the same broad character as in former years, "For the honor of the race and the good of the country," their paramount idea. Commissioner Sells was thanked for his work in the Bureau, and recognized as a "man of lofty purposes, constructive ability, and sincere devotion to the work committed to his hands."

Between fifty and sixty active members (those of Indian

blood) were present, as well as a number of associate members representing various lines of work being done among Indians. With the great confidence felt in the officers of the Society, and its infant stage successfully passed, it is believed to be ready for even greater usefulness than has marked its course since the beginning.—Miss C. W. Andrus in the *Southern Workman*.

Reorganizing Carlisle Along More Practical Lines

LOWER GRADES TO BE ELIMINATED AND TWO YEARS TO BE ADDED TO THE COURSE OF STUDY

AS a result of Commissioner Cato Sells recent visit at Carlisle, and of his more recent joint conference with the Chief Supervisor of Indian Schools, the Chief of the Education Division in the Indian Office, and the Supervisor in Charge of the Carlisle School, it has been decided to abolish the Business Department and to discontinue the Tinsmithing and Carriage-making trades at Carlisle and to establish, in lieu of these, thorough, practical courses in Domestic Science and Agriculture. In his letter of instructions to Supervisor Lipps, under date of September 25th, the Commissioner, in part, said:

"I deem it advisable to immediately discontinue the Commercial Department, and you may take steps to carry out this arrangement at the earliest date practicable. You may also discontinue the positions of tinner and the carriage-maker as soon as arrangements can be made, giving reasonable consideration to the occupants of these positions. There should be established for your school a very strong course along agricultural lines, and this placed in charge of an efficient instructor. There should also be established strong courses in domestic science and nursing.

"With these additional courses, strong emphasis being placed upon all builders' trades, I believe Carlisle will be better equipped to fill her place in our system of Indian education. In strengthening all these courses it may be that you will find it necessary to add one or two years. This may be necessary, for the successful completion of some of the industrial or vocational courses cannot be expected of pupils unless they have reached the age of young manhood or young womanhood and have been quite thoroughly instructed in the common branches. To further arrange the courses of the school so you can concentrate your efforts towards the instruction of advanced pupils, I deem it proper for you to limit your enrollment to pupils who have completed the third grade."

Practically every superintendent in the Indian school service has long since conceded that one good, well equipped Commercial Department is amply sufficient for the needs of the entire Service. Haskell Institute has a splendid commercial department and has established a reputation for turning out successful graduates. Indian boys and girls desiring to take a business course should go to that school.

While the carriage-making and tinsmithing trades have served a useful purpose at Carlisle, the day is past when any large number of Indian boys can follow these trades with profit. Besides, in order to lengthen out and strengthen the present courses, it was necessary to discontinue some of the less important trades. The annual appropriations for the Carlisle school will not permit of any material increase in expenses. As between shorthand, tinsmithing, and carriage-making, and definite and systematic instruction in the more practical subjects of domestic science, agriculture, etc., for Indian boys and girls, it is evident to all that the latter are far more essential and it was to be expected that Commissioner Sells would so decide.

Owing to the great distance of Carlisle from the Indian population and the consequent large expense of transporting pupils from their homes to the school, the only justification for its continuance is its possibilities for giving advantages not found at schools nearer the homes of the Indians. In several respects Carlisle has not kept pace with many of our splendid Indian schools in the West. But with the primary grades eliminated, with thorough, up-to-date courses in agriculture, dairying, domestic science, nursing and the builders' trades; with two more years added to its academic department, and with the splendid opportunities for young men and young women to continue their education in some of the best eastern schools, there is no reason why Carlisle should not now enter upon a new era of prosperity and usefulness.

There is still room at Carlisle for ambitious young men and young women—for boys and girls who want to make of themselves men and women worth while. But Carlisle is not a "reform school" nor is it a place to which Indian boys and girls may come for the sole purpose of "seeing the country and having a good time" at Government expense. Carlisle is ambitious to develop leaders and workers—men and women of stamina, industry, and character, and of these three the greatest is *character*. If students bring *much* to Carlisle with them—much energy, ambition and determination—they will take *much* away with them when they return home. All Carlisle has to offer is the opportunity—they must do the rest.

How Rodman Wanamaker Backs up His Belief

TO BELIEVE in the red race and demonstrate that belief is all that the red man can ask of any friend. Oratory and sympathy without action are almost useless.

We are gratified to find a man like Mr. Rodman Wanamaker, who backs up his convictions by action. He plans a greater achievement than the erection of the harbor statue. It is less spectacular but not less important. Indeed, it shows Mr. Wanamaker to be no idle seeker of sensational advertising. No man who builds good in human hearts can be that. Our proof is found in the following press item:

"One of the best friends of the American Indian is Rodman Wanamaker, son of John Wanamaker, of Philadelphia," says the *Pittsburg Dispatch*. "It is Mr. Wanamaker's contention that the Indian is capable of receiving a higher education, of entering the professions, and of doing work of a noble, philanthropic nature. With this idea in mind, at the beginning of the new school year, two Indian boys will be enrolled at the Mercersburg Academy. Having finished the course at Mercersburg, they will enter Princeton. These boys after being educated will devote their lives to social service among the Indians of the Far West.

"The two boys who have been selected and who both express themselves as being eager to undertake the work are John Gibson, a member of the Prima tribe of Arizona, and Charles McGilberry, a member of the Choctaw tribe of Oklahoma. Gibson is the son of an Indian farmer and during the past three years has been attending the Indian School at Carlisle. The Indians of his tribe are reputed to be very poor. McGilberry has been attending the United States Indian School at Chilocco, Okla. His grandfather and two uncles are chieftains in the Choctaw tribe. At the recent commencement exercises in the Chilocco School, Mr. McGilberry delivered a most interesting oration on "Farming as a Profession for Indians." In making application for one of the Wanamaker scholarships at Mercersburg he says: 'If I am selected I mean to do everything in my power to prove that Indians are as capable of receiving a higher education as any other race of people.'"

The Cherokee Nation Dissolved

(From the Indian School Journal.)

THE Cherokee nation as a tribal entity went out of existence at midnight, June 30th. The Cherokees to-day are just citizens of the United States the same as a white man. The

Cherokees were not only the largest of the Five Civilized Tribes, but the largest Indian tribe in the United States, numbering 41,798. The Cheokees go out of existence as a tribe with the proud record of having more school teachers than any other tribe of Indians and of having produced the only Indian who ever invented a strictly Indian alphabet. That was George Guess, or as the Cherokees call him, Sequoyah.

All of the Cherokees have been given their allotments. All of their remaining communal property has been converted into cash, something more than \$600,000. This will be distributed to them in a per capita payment of \$15 as soon as the rolls and the checks can be made out, possibly in ninety days. The Cherokees were the last of the Five Civilized Tribes to sign a treaty to individualize their property. They are the first to finally close their tribal affairs and dissolve their government, which they had maintained for more than a century.

The Cherokees existed as a tribe in North Carolina and Georgia from the history of this country. Following the Revolutionary War, many white men who fought in one or the other of the armies did not want to return to their old homes because of the enemies made. There were other who were adventurous, and these drifted to the southward and lived among the Cherokees. Many of them married Cherokee women.

In 1830, when Andrew Jackson was President, the Cherokees were ordered to move west of the Mississippi River to a vaguely described region known as Indian Territory. At that time this meant an area extending from the Kansas line south to the Red River, and along the northern border extending to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. From the Cherokee domain was cut a large part of Oklahoma Territory, the Osage nation, and the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations.

The order to move from their eastern home was resisted by a large number of Cherokees. Among those who came West in 1830 were the parents of Senator Robert L. Owen. It was in 1836 that the migration began. That was a journey of horror, starvation, pestilence, and death. One-fourth of those who started fell by the wayside.

At Tahlequah the Cherokees set up their capital, and there it has ever since remained. Here they maintained their tribal government with the separate branches, legislative, judicial, and executive. They also founded two schools, one for girls and one for boys.

An act of Congress in 1906 discontinued all of the tribal government except the executive department. W. C. Rogers, of Skiatook, was elected chief of the Cherokees. His tenure of office was extended by order of the President until the nation was permanently dissolved. When the enrollment for allotment was begun in 1902 there were 4,420,070 acres of land which they were entitled to allot.

The following telegram was sent by Secretary Franklin B. Lane and Commissioner Cato Sells to Principle Chief W. C. Rogers and National Attorney W. W. Hastings, announcing the winding up of the affairs of the Cherokee nation and expressing their high estimate of the Cherokee people:

"All officers of the Cherokee nation have been invited to tender their resignations by July 1, 1914, to be accepted at the earliest date practicable. Thereupon the disposition of affairs of the Cherokee nation will be substantially completed and tribal government discontinued so far as possible under existing laws. We congratulate the Cherokee people through you on their splendid history and their evolution from a primitive race to their present state of social, industrial, and political development. Among the Cherokee tribe are individuals who have taken high rank in commercial and professional walks of life, and history will record some of them among its most influential statesmen. We believe that strong native characteristics of Cherokees as true original Americans will be a potential factor in making distinctive citizenship of Oklahoma."

Onondaga Indians Were Stranded in Germany

GARBED in an adaptation of aboriginal, European, and American modes, James and Ernest Bucktooth, two full-blooded Indians from the Onondaga Reservation, dropped casually into *The Herald* office this afternoon primed with the narrative of their adventures in the zone of war from which they have just returned. The two brothers were connected with a carnival, and set out with sixteen of their fellows from the reservation on March 15th for New York, where they embarked for Europe.

Sailing on St. Patrick's Day for England, they landed in Fishguard and entrained for London. When August arrived with the startling declaration of war the troupe was in the very heart of the excitement, stranded in Trieste. The manager, one ingen-

ious Bill Arthur, managed to secure transportation to Laibach, about fifty miles from Trieste, and there the circus broke up.

"Military was everywhere," related James Bucktooth, the oldest of the brothers, who speaks good English, "on the trains in which we came from Trieste, on the streets, around buildings, and in the stations. We could not do anything but walk right straight along to wherever we were going."

"Bill Arthur—you know Bill, he was a good fellow—he got us fixed all right to go to Villach, a bunch of us with our music and guns and everything. We tried to have a little parade in Villach, but the police and military ran up and said music was forbid."

"At Selzbach we were stopped by Austrian soldiers and police, seven in number, but they let us go when Bill started to talk with them. Soon we were at Salzburg, and here they told us our tickets for Hamburg were no good, that August 4th was the only date when the people could use the railroads to the disadvantage of the king. Bill did not say anything very loud about the king, but he says, 'Boys, we are now in the soup,' so we put all our money together and Bill got tickets to Munich, where we arrived and let Bill go to call on the American consul.

"He got a lot of passports for us and we started north for Hamburg, but we were arrested again just before we left Munich, only to be let go when we showed our passports. We passed right through Leipsic, but at Magdenburg we had to change trains.

"There was a big long fence that shut out the street from the walk along the railroad tracks to the police station, and military and police again took us up and led us along the walk. They kept us there twenty minutes, and when we came out there were thousands of Germans crowding that fence, tearing to get at us just like the lions roaring for meat down in Galacia, when we were all starving.

"I must tell you all about that, how we had to kill the trick horses that Bill used to feed, and cut them up to feed to the lions for meat. It was awful. Sometimes we went three or four days without anything to eat at all.

"But when they let us out at Magdenburg the soldiers kept the people from us by using the swords, and the people all yelled 'Spies, Russians, Servians; spies, kill them!'" One officer struck me in the back with his sword and tore my coat. I don't know why, and some one hit Earnest over the head with a stick, so his head ached.

"Well, we got out of Magdenburg all right and set out for

Hamburg, where we were arrested again, although we had police passports, and they kept us there for three weeks."

The boys described their menu as coffee and bread twice a day, with soup and bread sandwiched in for lunch. The omniscient Bill intervened in his providential styles in Hamburg and reached the American consul. After that their menu improved, the consul contributing \$2.00 a day to their support. They got sausages for dinner and were allowed to exercise. After three weeks they were released, and made their way to Holland after selling bead work, saddles, and all their dearest treasures, etc.

*Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and Other
Dependent Peoples*

THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE, OCTOBER 14-16, 1914

PLATFORM.

IT IS the chief concern of this conference that our dependent peoples shall have so much, and only so much, of fostering care and protection as shall assure their continuous progress toward self-government. We repose the greatest confidence in those agencies of education and religion which are engaged in cultivating the elements of personal character and intelligence upon which the hope of ultimate self-government must rest. We recognize, also, the educational value of experience in self-direction, and we desire that dependent people should be left to their own resources and the ordinary course of civil government and human co-operation whenever such procedure shall not obviously incur the danger of individual and racial disaster.

Indians.

It is evident that at certain points the dangers which threaten our Indian population are still so great as to call not only for the maintenance of the governmental protection now afforded but for a considerable increase of such protection. This is particularly the case where the property interests of the Indians, in money and in lands, are so great as to arouse the intense cupidity of powerful and unscrupulous foes, some of whom are white men while others are themselves of Indian blood.

Conditions in the State of Oklahoma, affecting particularly the Five Civilized Tribes, call for the closest scrutiny. In the event that the Oklahoma legislature shall fail to give early and adequate protection to these Indians we see no alternative but

that the Federal Government should resume full jurisdiction over all of the "restricted" Indians of that State.

The land suits begun by the Federal Government in the interest of the Indians of Oklahoma should be prosecuted, if necessary, to the courts of last resort, to the end that the lands of the restricted allottees shall be preserved from spoliation and that as much as possible of that which has been wrongfully taken from the unrestricted allottees may be recovered.

It is now well known that the increasing use among the Indians of the mescal bean, or peyote, is demoralizing in the extreme. We recommend, accordingly, that the Federal prohibition of intoxicating liquors be extended to include this dangerous drug.

The codification of our laws relating to the Indians is a matter of vital importance. The conference accordingly recommends the immediate adoption of the necessary measures to accomplish this end.

The Civil Service.

The conference believes that the interests of good administration in Indian affairs require faithful adherence to the merit system in the making of appointments and promotions in the public service, and that security of tenure should depend solely on the record of demonstrated efficiency, to the end that public office may in a larger measure offer a secure and honorable career to those whose integrity, ability and force of character make good government possible.

In the Philippine service, also, we maintain that the merit system should be preserved in the letter and in the spirit, to the end that the governmental organization may become increasingly efficient. We urgently recommend that the transfer from time to time of competent members of the Philippine civil service to the civil service of the United States be facilitated.

In both services, the preparation of examination questions should be intrusted to competent persons only who possess expert knowledge and judgment in the field to which the examination relates, to the end that such examination shall be practical in character and adapted to test the fitness of applicants to perform intelligently and efficiently the duties of the positions to which they may be appointed.

Books and Book Talk

The American Indian on the New Trail

FRESH from the pen of a leading expert on Indian matters has come a new kind of book about Indians. "The Red Man on the New Trail," by Dr. Thomas C. Moffett, is the book for which the friends of the red race have been looking so long. It is a story of the transformation of a great race and deals with the many conflicting elements that have intermixed to produce one of the most difficult problems of race salvation in all the world.

The vast majority of books about Indians dwell long and tragically upon the past with its lurid colors, its wild outrages committed by both races. Dr. Moffett, quite to the contrary, arranges his facts as elements that have influenced the present and given its present-day character. All the romance is there and each fact is alive with present interest, notwithstanding. The Indian of to-day is discussed with an exact outline of his modern needs, his achievements in civilization, and his value as a positive factor in the world to-day. The heroic struggle of the missionaries is told in a way that holds heart interest, for as the author says, "Redeeming the red man is a more hopeful and also a more interesting process than rifling him."

Under the first two chapter headings, "A Puissant Race and a Primitive Faith" and "Contact of the Two Races," the historical elements of the situation are reviewed. Then follows "Pioneer Missions" and "Organized Christian Enterprises." Chapter five deals with "The New Day of Grace and Neglected Tribes" and chapter six with "The Natives of Alaska," who, by the way, have never been called Indians. The summary of the work is found in the concluding chapters, "Education of Heart and Hand" and "Friends and Foes." Fifty pages of valuable statics make up the appendix. This includes a list of philanthropic societies and an up-to-date bibliography. The index is a model of completeness. Each of the eight chapters is divided into special topics, so that the most impatient student may find at a glance the facts for which he is looking. The range of subjects is exhaustive, and yet each is treated with consistent brevity. One does not have to wade through a mass of useless data; each fact is clear and to the point. The seventeen pic-

tures are chosen with remarkable judgment and tell visually of the change that missions have brought and show emphatically the success of the red man on the new trial.

The book has one fine element,—absolutely fairness. Race questions are dealt with cleanly and without prejudice. Each denominational mission is given full credit in an unbiased way, thus making the book the most valuable contribution to Indian missionary literature extant.

Concerning the Society of American Indians, Dr. Moffett says in his book: "The organization of the Society of American Indians at Columbus, Ohio, in October, 1911, was an epochal event. There were gathered at the first convention about eighty Indians and white friends. The enthusiasm and determination with which the organization was effected promise well for a substantial accomplishment through its agency. The distinctive features of this organization are active membership only for men and women of Indian blood, and the rallying of the United forces of the Indian race and of generous friends and organizations enlisted for Indian welfare in a new movement for Indian uplift and advancement. In this society the Indians, with the counsel and aid of their white friends of church and state, are prepared to consider the problems and the program of Indian welfare with a larger vision than has heretofore been devoted to this subject."

Concerning the outlook for the future Dr. Moffett says: "The future of the Indian population in the United States is bright with promise of a worthy destiny for the race if safeguards are still afforded against the evils which have been pointed out as the real menace of all of the tribes, and if church and state, co-operating with the best leaders and truest representatives of the Indian race, educate, evangelize, and encourage this people to the realization of the highest ideals of the Christian civilization of America."

The American Indian on the New Trail, by Thomas C. Moffett, Missionary Education Movement, 156 5th Ave., New York, 1914.

The American Indian—A History

FOR a long time the need of a historical handbook covering Indian matters has been urgent. This need has been met by Hon. Warren K. Moorehead in an important book under the title of "The Indian; A History."

The Book Critic has examined the proof of a large portion

of Professor Moorehead's work and is impressed with the very large field covered. The book is more than a history,—it is a compend of all forms of data bearing directly on the Indian question. Its chapters on present affairs are no less important than its recommendations for future policies.

Professor Moorehead endeavors to analyze from the standpoint of pure equity, neither crediting the Indian with being more than he was nor casting calumny upon him because he fought as men fight when driven desperate.

"In considering the Indian," says the author, "while most persons recognize the disadvantages under which he has labored, yet I am persuaded that very few realize the great and almost overwhelming difficulty which must be overcome before a truly strong and high character can be developed." The author evidently means *re-developed* in civilized society, for he continues, "With but few exceptions nearly every white man who went to the frontier as a scout, miner, trader, hunter or explorer, exhibited the worst side of his character when among Indians. The Indian became acquainted with all that was bad and saw but little of the real good of civilization. He heard more oaths than prayers, saw more saloons than churches or schools. The men he met were not calculated to inspire him with any confidence or respect for the white race. If the plains tribes had associated with a better class of citizens before they learned the vices of civilization, I am satisfied that the historian would not be compelled to write so dark and tragic a narrative . . ."

"Between 1840 and 1849 there were but few attacks against whites on the plains, and most of these occurred to the south, in Texas, or along the old Santa Fe trail. It was not until and during 1849 that extensive emigration set in towards California. As the wagon-trains increased, the hunting of the Indians was seriously interfered with. Expeditions, not only of United States troops but of adventures, buffalo hunters, and miners, penetrated to various parts of the great West. Among these travelers were men who regarded an Indian no higher than a dog, and fired upon peaceful parties of hunting Indians without the slightest provocation. Wagon-trains were often in charge of men from the East who knew nothing whatever of Indians or their habits, and becoming insanely frightened at the approach of either friendly or hostile red man, opened fire without the slightest thought of consequences. The white people introduced whisky and smallpox. It is therefore not surprising that all the plains

Indians soon assumed a hostile attitude toward any being with a white skin."

When Professor Moorehead's book appears we shall have a new and monumental work ranking in importance with Helen H. Jackson's "A Century of Dishonor." Unlike Miss Jackson's book, however, "The Indian" will contain a treatment of all phases of the Indian situation and point the way to redemption.

We wish the work great success and many editions. Both the Indian of the plains and desert will wish to read the book. The Indian school and college bred will buy it for his collection of good books about his people. And, finally, thousands of friends of the race will read it and study it with attentive care.

The Indian; A History, published by the Andover Press, Andover, Mass. Cloth \$3.75.



The Open Forum

The Apache Situation

FORT APACHE INDIAN AGENCY,
Whiteriver, Ariz., Sept. 22, 1914.

TO THE SECRETARY-TREASURER,
The Society of American Indians,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am very glad to have your communication of September 1, and note contents. I am sorry that I shall be unable to attend the Conference. You ask for the "situation in Arizona." I am very glad to have this opportunity to submit the following to the Society for careful consideration:

Condition of the Apache Indians off the Reservation.

At Globe, Ariz., the Apache Indians live in teepees on the desert lands outside of the city limits. They have no farms there, and simply live there waiting for some work to turn up in the vicinity. The same condition exists at Miami.

At Wheatfields the Indians live in the teepees on the hilltops. They have no farms there and a number of them work for Chinese farmers. The white community there is prejudiced against the Indians and do not want them to live there.

At Green Back Valley the Indians live in teepees and have no lands of their own. Mr. Packard, who owns most of the valley

at this place, told the Indians that if they would clear the land and irrigate they could raise as many crops as they wished. They cleared the land, and after three crops he told them he wanted the land for himself.

At Sallymay there are 30 families living in teepees in a canyon. They have some small patches of corn. They are 25 miles from the nearest store.

At Gisela there are about 25 families living in teepees. Some of them have small farms. The white people in this vicinity don't want them. When the cow-boys have their cattle round up they tear down the Indians' fences and turn their cattle into the Indians' corn fields. When the Indians are out hunting their ponies, the cow-boys would draw guns on them even when they are out on the road with their families. They have appealed to the civil authorities, but have received no protection from the cow-boys.

At Angora the Indians had small farms in good condition, but they were driven away by the white men and appealed to the civil authorities, but nothing was done to help them to hold their homes.

At San Pedro Valley, 18 families live in teepees on small farms which the white men have not been able to take away from them. Formerly the Apaches owned the whole valley and used it. The white men have gained possession of about nine-tenths of the land, and continually annoy the Indians by tearing down fences and turning their cattle and horses into the Indians' corn fields.

The old Indians told me that General Crook, in rounding up all the Apaches, told them that if they would help him to get rid of the troublesome Apaches and after settling the troubles they would be allowed to return to their various homes, and live in peace, and that they would not be in need. They said that they did their part and nothing has been done by the Government to carry out the promises made to them by General Crook. They have gone back to their various homes and found the white people occupying their old farms, and the only thing left for the Indians to do was to pitch their teepees on hilltops and look at the white men in the valleys deriving the benefits from the farms that were at one time their own.

I was informed by the Indians off the reservation that four Indians were killed by white men, but nothing was done by the civil authorities to punish the murderers. A white man was

killed and an Indian was sent to the penitentiary. The Indians claimed that the white men were killed by a Mexican.

At one instance a white man killed an Indian at Globe. The white man fled. An Indian was blamed for the murder and was sent to the penitentiary for life. The white man, who committed the murder, was in California and while he was under the influence of liquor confessed that he killed the Indian at Globe and that an innocent Indian was serving a life term for it. The white man was brought back to Globe, tried, and was released. The innocent Indian was also released.

There ought to be something done to help these Apache Indians off the reservation. They ought to have some protection.

I am informed by the Indian Office that the Government has no jurisdiction over these Indians off the reservation and the they are amenable to the laws of the State. I think this would be true if those Apaches owned farms and lived in houses and citizens, but when they have nothing and simply exist in teepes, I think the Government still has jurisdiction over them.

Thanking you for offering this opportunity to me to present this case to your good offices, I am

Very respectfully,

VINCENT NATALISH.

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REMIT TO

SOCIETY OF AMERICAN INDIANS

**Room 106, Barrister Building,
Washington, D. C.**

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

To the Secretary-Treasurer, THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN INDIANS,
Washington, D. C.

Sir: I desire to become an member
(Write active, associate, or junior)
of The Society of American Indians and inclose herewith \$ 2.00
for membership dues for the year 191 and as a donation \$.....
to further the work of the Society. Total, \$.....

Fill for active membership

Tribe

Where enrolled.....

Degree of Indian blood.....

(Signature)

Address.....

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN INDIANS

This official organ of the Society will be sent to all members upon receipt
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To non-members the price is \$1.50

THE JOURNAL is edited by Indians who are university men and actively
engaged in professional life. The contributors are Indians and the friends of
the race who know the right side of the Indian's story.

FILL OUT THIS BLANK

DATE:.....1915

ARTHUR C. PARKER, *Editor-General*, Albany, N. Y.:

Enclosed find \$..... for which send THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL of the
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A SOWER WENT FORTH.
A Pima Indian of the Salt River District.



"The honor of the race and the good of the country shall be paramount"

VOL. II WASHINGTON, D. C., OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1914 NO. 4

Editorial Comment

BY THE EDITOR-GENERAL

The Washington Meeting and Memorial to the President SELDOM, if ever, in the history of our Indian people have their voices been so unanimously directed as they were at Washington on December tenth. Perhaps never before have so many distinguished men and women of Indian blood, active in the affairs of the State and of the Nation, met in council, never before in the history of the Society of American Indians has it acted with greater unanimity. Never before have its associate members been so glad to indorse the aims of the Society and to strengthen its appeal to the President, to the Congress, and to the public.

The meeting was called upon seven days' notice, and the membership within the district east of Ohio received notices by mail that gave them only four days in which to prepare for the journey to the Capitol of the Republic.

The date was set by President Woodrow Wilson himself and the precise moment when he chose to listen to the appeal of the Society was carefully scheduled in advance. The President listened with great earnestness to the memorial, and now the Congress and the people should listen and act. The memorial asks for two basic things: First, a determination of the status of each group and tribe, and a draft of a new code of law in harmony with the laws of human progress, and, second, the settlement of all Indian claims found just by the Court of Claims (or by such special court as it may erect to pass upon their validity).

"This done," in the language of our memorial, "a great barrier to race development would be removed, for we should no longer be tied to the past with the feeling that the country had not fulfilled its obligations to our race."



**Certain Facts About
the Quarterly
Journal**

IN RESPONSE to the many appeals of libraries and members and subscribers to *The Quarterly Journal S. A. I.*, we have prepared a title page and an index for Volume II. This is done to assist those who desire to bind the publication in book form. Many of our subscribers realize that we are issuing a unique publication that will become more and more valuable as a reference volume as time goes on. *The Quarterly Journal* is not a publication that men read only to throw away, at least that is our hope. The publication is one designed for serious study and for preservation.

It is important, however, for every reader to understand that neither the Society nor *The Quarterly Journal* are responsible for, nor do they necessarily indorse, the opinions of those who contribute articles. The Society may even be opposed to the ideas expressed, but it does not fear to present them for study and debate. The Society is only responsible for the enactments of its Annual Conferences and for the actions of its Executive Council. The opinions of a member, of a writer, of an officer, of the editor, are individual opinions that do not in any sense bind the Society to follow or uphold.

During the forthcoming year during which our third volume will be issued, there may be certain changes for the better in *The Quarterly Journal*. We have given an overflowing measure for the money received as subscriptions through our zealous desire to serve our readers well. We carry no advertisements, we have no subscription agents, and offer no inducements to subscribers. Our circulation is therefore relatively small. Every subscriber who pays one dollar a year receives printed matter that costs more than two dollars to produce. This does not take into consideration office rent, clerical hire, or the time expended by the editor in preparing the copy for the issues. To hold our influential position and continue our publication we shall endeavor to make *The Quarterly Journal* for 1915 of even greater interest

than before. But, in the last analysis, our members must bring their publication its permanent success. It will be just what each individual member enables it to be. No man can therefore afford to neglect this mouth-piece of the people.

The Quarterly Journal needs a substantial endowment, a cash fund upon which to draw. It is a journal with a mission and its continuation challenges the friendship of our loyal associate and active membership. *The Quarterly Journal* answers the oft-repeated inquiry as to why the red race does not break its silence and speak out, in clear ringing tones, the hopes and aspirations of its blood. *The Quarterly Journal* does this, and it does things, we hope, for the uplift of humanity. Shall we have your friendship, your support, and your loyalty during the coming year? Before you forget, answer in a practical way—I say, before you forget.

There is a subscription blank among the fly leaves in the front of this number.



Are All Indians Victims of Drink? WHEREVER the "Indian Problem" is discussed one hears of the enormous curse that the use of intoxicating liquors has brought.

Nothing can be more true than the fact that the use of alcoholic poison as drink is a menace to all humanity, including white men and Indians. But when we hear of Indian drunkards we somehow form the idea that all Indians are drunkards, or that all are prone to drink. This idea is far from true. Not all Indians are drunkards, not all Indians use liquor. The Indian people who have withstood abuse and misunderstanding for so long should not willingly shoulder this added shame. Even now, well-informed Indians are resenting the imputation that theirs is a besotted, debauched race. But some Indians do drink and some Indians are drunkards. Quite so. But, some white men drink and some white men are drunkards. A trip around the world during which the drink problem would be investigated would *not* show the Indians more drunken than other races. Quite the contrary, they would probably drink less frequently and consume less liquor per capita than other races in the midst of civilization. Their peculiar position in the law—as a separate people, whom the law denies both votes and whiskey—produces a certain

mental attitude not conducive of moral progress. Indian human nature is only ordinary human nature. The Indian will, by hook or crook, get what a citizen eats and drinks, even though forbidden by law. Some of them will import whiskey in tin horse collars, in tomato cans (duly labeled), concealed in barrels of fish and salt, or in soda water bottles, as the case may be. The crooked grafting, fanged and cloven-hoofed boot-legger, Indian or white, plies his lucrative trade, because he knows that all men crave that which they are denied. Effectual prohibition is a difficult problem and its enforcement is costly. Temperance and total abstinence will come only when dry States prohibit the shipment of liquor into their territory and penalize railroads for carrying it; only when manufacturers of alcoholic poisons are forbidden to distill or brew their drinks; only when the United States of America declares that alcoholic drink shall forever be driven from this land of freedom, that pledges life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to all men, all women, and all children.

Red skins should be protected from alcoholic poisons and so should their brother white skins. Every race suffers the devastation of the drink demon; each one must some day be freed from its clutches. But until then let us credit the red man with as much temperance and as great a hatred for rum as any other race. The red race suffers from drink, to be sure; but the pawn shops, the cheap dives, the alms houses, the insane asylums, the jails, the tenement houses, the brothels, the pauper grave yards, the morgues where suicides are found, aye, even the daily press tells me that it is not the red race that suffers most from the grip of drink, but the white race.

The citizen Indian who lives out in the world competing in business life with other men is rarely a drinker. He has free access to drink, but he does not want it. Few of these citizen Indians even become intoxicated. The drink problem with the Indian is one of environment and not racial. Indians who let alcoholic drinks alone do so, not because of laws and licenses, but because they know it is a certain evil, a snare, and a poison that slays manhood and womanhood. As a matter of personal honor they leave it alone, for their principles are against it.

Temperance reform on reservations can best come by an appeal to principle and a challenge to the strength of Indian manhood.

If there is nothing left of principle, of honor, of manhood, then the Indian should perish; but if these qualities do remain—as we know they do—then the reform may come from within and not from without. It will then spring from moral conviction and not from legal coercion.



**The Red Man is
Not a Tanned
Mongolian**

THE Red Man of America is not a Mongolian, according to the Indian Commissioner, Hon. Cato Sells. Judge Sells is correct and several of the school-book historians are wrong, foolishly wrong.

There were native Americans, American Indians, in America thousands of years before there were such races as the Chinese or Tartars, Manchus or Turanians.

When the first Americans entered this continent in remote geologic times there were no distinct races. All the individuals of primitive humanity were of the same human stock—plain primitive human beings.

As branches split off from the parent stock and became isolated in the various geographical areas races of humanity commenced to form. Food, climate, habits, and geography all conspired to mold the various races.

That the American Indian is not a Mongolian is common knowledge to every anthropologist. Any similarity that the Indian has to the Chinaman, for example, is merely a superficial similarity. Every argument presented by ill-informed theorists falls when the truth is brought against it. The idea of such similarity originated in an odd way with Cuvier, who divided the human family into three grand divisions, based on physiological traits. Cuvier took his clue from Bichat, who recognized three physical systems in mankind,—the vegetative or visceral, the osso-muscular, and the cerebro-spinal. Happy thought was this to Cuvier, who separated the black race from others because it was vegetative,—it filled its stomach and just lived; the yellow race was bony and sinewy and was active, while the white race was brainy and sensitive. The Indians and Malays, being left outside, were shoveled over into the sinewy and bony race—and dubbed Mongolians.

Now it seems idle for the editor, who professionally is an anthropologist, to repeat the well-known arguments against the

alleged Mongolian affinities of the American race. However, to catalogue the objections we shall first say that there is no evidence in the language. "Oh, yes, there is," say some one. "So-and so says there is." But we still answer that no student of languages known to the world of science has found one single thread of evidence showing any similarity. The linguistic systems of the American tribes are far different in grammar and word compounding from the Mongolian. So great authority on Ural-Altaic languages, Dr. Heinrich Winkler, after a life-long study positively denies any similarity. Every other philologist does likewise. American Indian mythology and material culture are not Mongoloid in any respect. Facts are better than guess work.

Some insistent theorist may point out the color of the skin, the eye, and the color of the hair in confirmation of his views, but the Indian's skin, whatever its varied hues may be, whether flesh, copper, or cinnamon, is not Mongolian yellow. The black hair of the red man is not Mongolian because it differs in shade, as a cross section shows under the microscope. Viewed in reflected light Indian hair shows an underlying tint of red-brown; the Mongolians, a blue-black. In a few instances an arrested development of the eyelid causes the "slanted eye," seized upon as evidence of Mongolian affinity. Any surgeon will find this to be epicanthus and can remove the disfigurement by a simple operation. This deformity of the muscles of the eyebrow is not infrequent in the white race.

An analysis of the formation of the skull and of the facial index shows no evidence that the American Indian is Mongoloid to any degree more than Europeans.

There have been theories that the Indians were the lost Welsh colonists, that they were shipwrecked Japanese, and even the Ten Lost Tribes. Science has proven beyond question the foolishness of these theories, and any text book used in school or college that repeats these errors is now relegated to the heap of out-of-date books.

Great universities, such as Pennsylvania, Berkeley, Yale, Harvard, Chicago, and Columbia, have special courses in American anthropology. They maintain immense museums of archaeology and ethnology and have upon their teaching staff scores of men

who have made a life study of these questions concerning the American race. No ethnologist known to the writer believes that the Indian is a sort of an acclimated Chinaman or a descendant of the Mongols of Asia, but he may believe, and likely does, that the Indian descended from the same parent stock that produced the Mongol, and for that matter the Caucasian and the Negro.

Those who persist in asserting the Mongolian affinity of the Indian should study modern books upon the subject or confer with men who are specialists in the science of human development.

No, the Indian is not one of the Ten Lost Tribes, his skull, his language, and his character is not that of the Caucasian Semitic peoples. The American Indian is not a Mongolian or any branch of the yellow race. The American Indian is the aboriginal American, and in his various division constitutes what is known to scientists as *the American race*.



**Mock Royalty from
the Reservation** THERE was a time in the years gone by when Indian chiefs were occasionally called "kings." However, most of the early white explorers, ignorant though some of them were, soon abandoned the custom. In human political organizations a *chief* has a distinct office. He is not a king, however kingly he may conduct himself. Thus, the colonists settled upon the words *sachem*, *sagamore*, and *chief* as most fitting for Indian rulers or leaders. The Indians were not burdened with the titles of duke, count, prince, baron, or knight. The Indians had their own special ranks and offices, the functions of which could not be translated into a Caucasian language. The only true kings and emperors were the rulers of Peru and Mexico. To copy European titles is pure flunkysm.

Very frequently in this modern day we hear of an Indian princess. The woods are devoid of them, to be sure, and the reservations do not boast of them, but there is scarcely an eastern city without one.

There are all sorts of these so-called princesses from almost every tribe. Most of them are from three-quarters to seven-eighths white. The full-blood Indian maiden does not call herself

princess even though she is the daughter of an actual chief. If one looks closely into the affairs of these numerous "Indian princesses" one will discover that they are all in some sort of business. One noted "Princess" of twenty years ago sold patent medicine; in our day some of them are in vaudeville, sell baskets, or pose in department-store windows. We advise our friends to discourage over-ambitious girls of Indian blood from using the term "princess." The noble stock from which they sprang, even when it is that of a ruling family, is not ennobled by one of its descendants appropriating the title of "princess." The Indians back home laugh long and loud at the mockery of such titles. They know there are no Indian princes stalking the land, and by the same token, *there are no Indian princesses* in the realm of red men.



**The Word "Squaw"
an Out-of-date
Expression**

THE term "*squaw*," as applied to an Indian woman, is exceedingly bad English, it is certainly bad form, and in many cases an actual insult. The Indian office should discourage its use; writers and users of correct English might well abandon it. The true story which follows illustrates my point. It was related to me by Fred Pierce himself one windy autumn day when we had finished a "John-boat" trip down the Allegheny River. Fred Pierce of the Seneca Nation was a good boatman, for he was six feet in height, broad shouldered, deep chested, and courageous.

"Some years ago I was leaning against the Salamanca National Bank Building waiting for the train down the river to Quaker Bridge," said he in opening up the subject. "Several ladies were passing, their arms filled with parcels, for it was Saturday and shopping day. Housewives, both Indian and white, thronged the opposite side of the street. A street acquaintance of mine passed by and sang out a greeting:

" 'Hi, Fred,' he said."

" 'Good afternoon, sir,' was my reply; for I didn't like familiarity."

"The acquaintance was a rather florid young business man who loafed a good deal. So he paused and then leaned against the building. He wanted to talk it was evident. 'Squaw day, I notice,' he remarked."

"What kind of a day?" said I."

"Squaw day—Squaw day, I said," he repeated."

"What is a squaw?"

"Why, one of your Injun women; there's one," he explained, pointing out a well dressed and fine-looking woman approaching us."

"Is that lady a squaw?" I asked, getting mad all over."

"Why, of course;—what's the matter with you?"

"This," was my answer, and somehow my arm shot out tapping the chin of the provoker of my indignation."

"Why, you confounded Injun, what ——."

"Now that is about enough, young man," said I to him as the lady came forward, a questioning look in her bright, dark eyes, because she is a Quaker, and didn't like fighting. "This lady is my wife, sir," I said, "and I object to your insult, that is all."

"Insult? Why of all the ——."

"Now listen to a little reason, young fellow, and perhaps you will mend your manners. Suppose, now, I should call your wife a "wench," what would you say about it?"

"I'd break your neck," the young man answered, then quickly added, "if I could."

"But wench was once very good English for a maiden. Your Shakespeare used it, as Chaucer did before him. Your Webster's Dictionary will prove to you I am right."

"But hold on," answered the puzzled young man, rubbing his chin, *'that might have been all right years ago, but it is out of date now. Since then the meaning of the word has changed.'*"

"Yes," said I, still pretty cross, *'other words have changed too, and squaw is one of them.* With some Indian tribes it is already a low term of disrespect and even when used by many whites it is a term as if to an inferior."

"I don't agree with you entirely in that," answered the young fellow. "Squaw is a common term used to designate an Indian female."

"Then why use a common term taken from a language you are not familiar with? Why not say "Indian woman?" Would it peeve you any?"

"Well, from our point of view, it is all right."

"But what of our point of view? We are the ones whom

you are calling names, despite your dictionary. Suppose our dictionary contained the word wench for maiden, villain for a poor man, boor for a farmer, varlet for a servant, and knave for a youth? Times change, my friend. You must change with the times. There are no wenches in your household and there are no squaws in mine. Good day, sir."

Fred Pierce has now gone down and across a big river and landed on a far away shore, but he pointed out a good moral in this tale he told to me.



**The Advice of a
Great Choctaw**

For the sake of good government—human equity, and the preservation of the American ideal, as they saw it,—hundreds, nay thousands, of Oklahoma Indians took part in the American Civil War. Several of the tribes were torn by internal discord, for individuals entered the contending force that they considered right. There were full regiments of Cherokee and Choctaw in Confederate service. There were many Indian officers in command of Indian troops, among them the eminent Cherokee General Stand Watie, who succeeded John Ross, as chief of the nation. Ross was the friend of the Federal cause.

Feeling in Oklahoma ran high. Brothers, indeed, were set against brother, in this white man's war that the red man had entered. But the Indian mind is as fully capable of lofty thought, of human sympathy, and of magnanimity as that of other races. When the incidents about Appomatox had sealed the fate of the Confederacy, a peace commission visited the Indian territory. Among the eminent men in this delegation were such friends of the red man as Elijah Sells, Commissioner to the Southern Indians; Thomas Wistar, Maj. W. S. Harvey, and Col. E. S. Parker, himself an Indian. Before these men the Indians gathered to learn what the United States intended to do. But a greater mind than that of any commissioner spoke. He arose from the Choctaw delegation and lifting his voice to the assembled throng said:

"It therefore becomes us as a brave people to forget and to lay aside our prejudices and prove ourselves equal to the occasion. Let reason obtain, now that the sway of passion has passed, and

let us meet in council with a proper spirit to renew our former relations with the United States Government."

So spoke Chief Peter P. Pytchlyn, of the Choctaw Nation, a gentleman, a diplomat, and a true American. Charles Dickens, in his "American Notes," pays special tribute to Mr. Pytchlyn, whose polished manner seems to have made a deep impression upon the eminent author's mind.

There are red men today who emulate in word, action, and deportment the greatness of their noble ancestors; there are red men who are willing to struggle for their country, and there are red men who are great enough to follow Chief Pytchlyn. The old days have passed forever; the wars and bloody conflicts have ended, *"It therefore becomes us as a brave people to forget and to lay aside our prejudices and prove ourselves equal to the occasion. Let reason obtain, now that the sway of passion has passed and let us meet in council with a proper spirit."*

There, indeed, is a message to every Indian. Let it sink home and have an understanding.



Sanitary Homes for Indians

THERE can be no such thing as true progress in Indian affairs until there is true progress in home and family life. The home is the first of all civilized institutions. A home must be more than a place in which to sleep and eat; it must be a center of affection. It must be ennobling in its influence and as clean, cheerful, and beautiful as its various members can make it.

It is especially important that the home be clean and sanitary. Indian homes must be healthful if the race is to be healthy.

We read in the "Hearing of the Indian Appropriation Bill" that there are 8,000 Indian families who have no homes, or 2.6 per cent. of the total Indian population. The dwelling places of these 8,000 Indians are tepees, mud lodges, and hogans with earth floors. They are mostly poorly ventilated, and the health conditions are most unsatisfactory. Many more than these 8,000 dwellings are unsanitary. Some houses with windows and wood floors are worse to our notion than the usually airy tepee.

In *The Red Man* for September, 191, Mr. Edgar Meritt spoke with true understanding when he said:

It is difficult to develop an Indian to a standard of civilization above and beyond his home environment. Able scientific authorities now tell us that environment has more to do with the development of the individual, the development of his mind and character, than heredity. If this be true, what an awful inheritance and what a heavy load on the upward climb to a higher civilization must be the portion of the little Indian children born and reared among the surroundings and conditions found in some of the alleged Indian homes.

One of the unfortunate features of our present Indian school system is the fact that after training and educating the Indian boys and girls at non-reservation schools, where they are surrounded by and become accustomed to modern conditions of civilized life, and after graduation it becomes necessary to return them to the frequently repugnant environment and revolting conditions of the home life of some of their parents on the Indian reservations.

The present appropriation bill carries an item of \$100,000 "for the correction of sanitary defects in and improvement of Indian homes, to be immediately available," etc.

This sounds like something practical, useful, and human. We hope the Congress will say that the Indian shall have a clean home and have it out of his funds now held in trust. The measure is not a request for a gratuity, for it is asked from the reimbursable funds.

The Editor's Viewpoint

Indian Blood

THE anthropologist is not worried over the fate of the red man's blood. It flows in thousands of the most vigorous citizens in America; yet the editor of *American Medicine* for September, 1914, is worried. He says that it must now be realized that "a physique evolved from savage life is somehow unfit to live in civilization." The Indians, he affirms, thrived under famine and privation, but with food protection and other good things the whites have given them they melt away. "The type is out of place and cannot be set back to an environment fit for it," says the editor, who adds, "and, perhaps, we cannot create an artificial one." The rate at which the Indian is merging his blood into the white race he apparently regards as alarming. Then he asks as to the nature of the damage and how it can be prevented. If it cannot be prevented, he asks whether the world will be the worse or if it will be better off for the extinction of the Indian. "Certain Irish types disappear from the population and no one seems to mind it," says the editor, "so why shed tears over a handful of Indians left behind by the progress of evolution of man and civilization? The fate of the mixed blood will probably be the same in spite of the apparent vigor of the present stock. Such hybrid types never have survived if the two parent types are widely different."

Just where this commentator rests his argument is found when he says that the men who marry Indians have somehow failed to get white wives and cannot be considered normal as a class. The offspring, by this argument, may inherit its parental abnormality and become an undesirable element.

We should like to say that the good doctor draws his conclusions from incomplete evidence and that he is apparently ignorant of several facts. Among the things we think he should consider are these: 1st, *not all* white men who married Indian women were or are abnormal. Some of the best European blood in the early days of exploration and colonization was left among the

Indians of the Northwest, as a result of marriage mostly by tribal custom it may be true, but, nevertheless, marriage. We do not believe the children of these unions were undesirable human beings. Neither were or are all white women who marry Indians, women who are deficient. The entire evil resulting from the blood union of the Indian and the white race comes directly and almost solely from its diseased, immoral, criminal, or uneducated classes. A defective woman of either race having mixed-blood children by a man below normal physical and moral standard is quite likely to find her issue quite as diseased and immoral as hereditary tendencies on both sides might indicate. But the legitimate marriage of moral and physically sound members of these two races may be expected to produce normal offspring. Subsequent environment usually determines the result. The mixed-blood of normal parents does prosper, does live, and shall increasingly add to his country's greatness. Hundreds of men and women of more or less remote descent from the "old American stock" attest the truth of this assertion.

Hundreds of useful citizens in professional and business life are of Indian descent. Those derived from healthy parental stock show no degeneracy and reveal no weakness not found to a like extent among an equal number of Americans of European ancestry. The many teachers, farmers, bankers, stock raisers, clergymen, physicians, musicians, public office holders, the several Indian Congressmen and Senators in the United States Congress, and many more, not only prove the versatility of the Indian mind but the strength of its blood even when it exists in a diluted form.

American Indian blood is in America to stay. Though it becomes diffused as the centuries weave on, its virtue shall live in the achievements of the proud men and women in whose arteries it flows.



Blood Mixture Among Races

NO RACE, as we know races, is an unmixed race. All so-called races are the result of mixtures. Food, soil, locality, climate, available materials, systems of thought, and dominant languages caused the development of the types of humanity when the various geographical areas were more or less isolated. Yet

all groups of human beings since remote periods have received the influx of blood from others. The peoples of Europe terming themselves Caucasian are the result of mixtures of prehistoric elements as well as of later races. Europe received and absorbed mixtures of Asiatic and African peoples. Asia received the blood of Africans and Malays. Even the red men of America may have received, even after the crystallization of the race, the influx of Scandinavian, Malayan, and Mongolian blood.

In the early days, when the scattered groups of men were isolated and when traveling great distances was difficult, this blending of bloods was comparatively slight, as a continuous operation. Today, with rapid transportation and a world open to all men, integration is more rapid. As a rule, the blood of the traveler or the invader mingles with the blood of the native dweller. Thus, through their male elements, the intrusive Europeans give their blood to less active peoples.

American tribes through their explorers may have left considerable of their racial blood among the tribes of northeastern Siberia. Certain it is that the American tribes of the northwest coast left traces of their culture in northeastern Asia. Venture-some Norsemen very likely left off-spring among the Americans of our own northeast coast. Perhaps a few capable red men intermarried with Europeans in early days of discovery and exploration. Along the Mediterranean, through sailors and traders, races constantly intermingled. This was true, also, in Asia, especially along the coasts. The negroes of northern Africa have a large amount of Arabian blood. In Europe many an ancient grave shows certain of Europe's early inhabitants to have been negroid.

That the "white" race of Europe is by far a definitely fixed or stable race is shown by the various grades of complexion, hair, and facial type. Even the so-called Germanic type is a mixed type. Only 31 per cent. of the Germans are blond, 14 per cent. being brunettes, and 55 per cent. "mixed."*

The "white" race is not uniformly white, but ranges from black to a yellow or florid "white," and an olive. This great Caucasian race, which in its many branches sprang from common ancestors, embraces, (1) the north Europeans, Irish, Germans, Kurds, Af-

*Keane, "Man, Past and Present."

gans; (2) French, Welsh, Russians, Poles, Roumanians, Armenians, East Persians, Jews; (3) Iberians, Italians, Greeks, Berbers, Hindus, Dravideans, and Ainus; and many other stocks. Widely scattered is the red race of the Americas, diverse as are its languages and customs, the red race is far more stable and crystallized than this race of many mixtures, colors, and customs.

The Caucasian people in their many varied branches even today fraternize but sparingly. In some cases this aversion amounts to hostility and persecution. The modern English-Caucasian who dominates Hindustan calls the black parent stock from which he sprang from deprecatory names. The Russians despise the Jews; the Germans fear the Slavs; the Irishman wishes to have nothing to do with the Italian; the Scotchman denies any relationship to the hairy Ainu, and the Spaniard feels his blood superior to the Moors. Yet all are Caucasians and from the same parent division of the human family. Geography alone has made the difference.

It has been said many times that the natives of America held haughtily aloof from one another and that each tribe regarded itself the superior. This fact has led to much criticism by the thoughtless. Yet when all facts are sifted, the red race of America has far less differences and rivalry among its various divisions than the Caucasian. It is far more homogenous in character than the Caucasian, and when its cultural stage is measured against a like stage of the European it does not suffer by contrast. But, as analysis will have it, savagery is not a racial trait; it is a universal human trait.

Races originally were the outgrowths of widely separated divisions of the primitive human species. Primitive men, wherever they may have been found, were quite alike. Separated for generations in isolated regions and subject to varied climates, methods of procuring food, and caring for themselves, they evolved the specialized types that now distinguish the great races. Within these great racial stocks special divisions or tribes were formed. Inter-marriage thus only brings again together long separated strains of blood. The mixing of blood or racial strains is more rapid today than at any time in the history of the world. It is inevitable. Some theorists believe it means the destruction or weakening of humanity, and "mixed bloods" are studied for signs of physical degeneracy.

We do not believe that the mixture of the great racial stocks has ever produced an inferior people or lessened human capacity. Clean blood of whatever stock is good human blood.

And so races continue to evolve, ever changing, ever intermixing, yet each one ever vainly sure it is of pure lineage and superior to other men. Humanity, or civilized humanity, if you please, will never realize or miss its mission until races come to understand their common ancestry and each will mingle with the other trustfully, without each dogmatically assuming its own right to thrust its culture upon the other, for race virtues and dogmas, like race bloods, are themselves not unmixed.



The Discovery of America as an Incentive to Human Achievement

AT THE time of the Columbian discovery, America as a continent was to the Eastern Hemisphere a New World indeed. When the early voyagers realized that they had indeed found a new part of the earth, and not the outlying shores of China or India, both ambition and imagination were kindled. Then there came over the Old World a great psychological change. It was as if the bonds that restrained all the dormant or circumscribed faculties had suddenly been burst.

It was as if all the accumulated potentialities inherent in the human race of the Old World had suddenly found a field for development. America was the ovum that found its fertilizing germ plasm in the vitalizing potentialities of the Old World. Biologically, Europe was the spermary of the new progressive civilization, America the germinal vesicle. The "discovery" was simply the fecundation.

The offspring of this meeting of the positive, aggressive Old World with the negative, passive, undeveloped New World was a new form of civilization. It was the beginning of a more vigorous activity and more rapid development in the material sense. The spirit of conquest and pillage was implanted within the new civilization. It was a restless, ambitious spirit that strove to conquer lands and seas, material substances, air, fire, water, and metals. Its ambition lay in a desire to conquer obstacles, time,

distance, and to hold in its hand power over all there was in nature. With the conquest of the sea, the conquest of forested continents, the wresting of wealth from seas and mines, and the discovery of possibilities in all things imagination was awakened to ambitious dreams. It was a material or constructive imagination that thought of immense projects, bridges, dams, buildings, ships, guns, explosives, and machines. The aim was to accomplish changes in natural or raw materials to satisfy the desire for comfort, beauty, safety, and power over men. Yet with all this man has forgotten to conquer his own soul, to rule his own mind. Today the mass of "civilized" humanity is simply the same savage humanity of ten thousand years ago. Even though the pure ethics taught by the higher forms of religion, and the restraints of laws imposed upon men by themselves for self-preservation, together with the mass of facts taught by schools, have conspired to change the form of human action, yet "civilized" humanity remains at heart essentially savage. We are only *educated savages* and shall remain so as long as our chief aim in life is material acquisition, material conquest, and dominion over our fellow men for the purpose of our own greater advantage.

I do not say that through all ages, from the time men began to think philosophically, there have not been civilized men and women or those who taught its principles. There are today such persons, yet they are the small minority of humanity.

We look to such men in all ages as idealists who said beautiful things that were impossible to follow. "It is nice to think of such things, and so elevating," we think, "but in this very practical world it is impossible and, oh, so impracticable, to follow them exactly." And so we "sanely and judiciously" interpret our ethics and continue the exploitation of our fellow men. We become smug hypocrites and piously excuse ourselves on the grounds of being "practical." We read Confucius, Plato, Socrates, Seneca, Solomon, Paul, or Hiawatha, and think what "wonderful" moralists they were, and yet in practice we cleverly excuse ourselves on material grounds.

And yet another teacher arose to proclaim peace and fraternity, co-operation and love of our fellow men. We, perchance, convince ourselves that we are Christians and hail Jesus of Nazareth as our Saviour, yet we deny Him and His simple truths every day

and ingeniously rule His teachings out of our business principles as utterly impossible. Yet I do not say there are no Christians in spirit, for there are, or the church could not stand a moment, and even our hypocritical civilization could not stand. There are still idealists who follow faithfully the higher way and who point men to these higher ethics. And so mankind's conscience is constantly pricked. But how frailty civilization does stand needs no argument. We can almost smell the powder as it blackens Europe; we can almost hear the shrieks of mutilated humanity; we can almost feel the undertow of the spirit-tide as it draws millions of souls into the great soul-sea. The hypocrisy of civilization thus crumbles. So slight a stir as that of a Balkan state demonstrates that we are still savages and that our moral convictions are secondary to our material ambitions.

Chaotic Europe, filled with overflowing graves of butchered men and starved women and children, points out a lesson to this New World of ours. Europe clung to the precedents of the feudal period—war, conquest, self-elevation, and domination by the show of military power. In one thing there was a change: The great increase in the ability to produce manufactured goods through machinery led to rivalry in commerce. Europe, as America, became "commercialized," trade mad, for wealth flows from trade. Nations cannot, must not, eye each other as jealous rivals, diplomatically smiling to hide jealous vigilance and rivalry, then turning to savage hatred when jealousy and fear burst to insane fury.

In this America of ours, imperfect as it is, we can see the immense advantage of common interest, a common tongue, and a devotion to a country that respects all races as one. This is a free country indeed—free from racial strife, at least among Europeans.

But America, peacefully watching the most sanguinary struggle that earth has known, has a great lesson to learn. It is that *true civilization can only come through a change in the purpose for which we maintain it, and from a new understanding of our relation to our fellow men.*

A civilization that is built upon regulations that permits and encourages a commerce that exploits human beings is an outgrowth of the unmoral proclivities of mankind's early days. Man has so nursed his instincts of acquisition that *civilization has be-*

come blinded to the fact that human life, human health, human development, human happiness, and human freedom are greater rights than the rights that men now measure in terms of money—trade, bonds, banks, landed possessions, jewels, and the jealousies of thrones. If mankind could realize this, there could be no war, no poverty, no human misery, for civilization would then mean universal equity, and brotherly consideration would replace selfishness.



Inferior or Only Different?

THERE is a school of race philosophy that propogates the idea that the blonde Aryan or white man is the destined ruler and civilizer of the World. A closer analysis would show that the theorists of this school are as a rule, self-admiring egotists, whose emotional nature is to say the least erratic.

Dr. Franz Boas, one of the greatest anthropologists, in a recent article in *Everybody's Magazine*, discusses this belief and states that it has no foundation in observed fact. He intimates that is merely a reflex of the dominant idea of the north European that he is a superior man by virtue of his blood and race. Very aptly he remarks: "This notion prevails among ourselves with equal force, for we shake our heads over the ominous influx of inferior races from eastern Europe. Inferior by heredity? No. Socially different? Yes; on account of the environment in which they have lived, and therefore different from ourselves . . ."

The Awakened American Indian

*An Account of the Washington Meeting**

By ARTHUR C. PARKER

THE American Indian has written a new chapter in his life story. The tenth day of December, nineteen hundred and fourteen, marked a new beginning in Indian progress and proclaimed a new day for the red race. Upon that day President Woodrow Wilson listened to the memorial of the Society of American Indians in behalf of the American Indian. Never before perhaps had there assembled so large a body of men and women of Indian blood, having so wide an influence in the world's affairs. Never before had the men and women of the race presented so definite an appeal covering the conditions of all Indians.

The memorial presented to the President was the outcome of an action by the University of Wisconsin Conference of the Society of American Indians, and was drawn up by order of the conference. The committee consisted of Dennison Wheelock, chairman; Prof. F. A. McKenzie, Henry Roe-Cloud, Hiram Chase and William J. Kershaw; supplemented by the Executive Committee, including the president, vice-president on membership, and the secretary-treasurer.

The meetings at which the memorial was formulated were held at the office of Hon. Gabe E. Parker, Register of the U. S. Treasury. Mr. Parker, who is a Choctaw, is a member of the Society's advisory board. Here the various ideas submitted by the committee and by the members of the executive council were drawn into shape after careful debate. In its preparation a majority of members of the advisory board, the entire memorial committee and all but one absent member of the executive council participated. The strong men of the Society and of the race were indeed present. Their memorial to the President is a historic document.

President Wilson had set the hour as twelve-fifteen, on December tenth. The Society, represented by its active officers, associate officers, board, and by members of both divisions, marched promptly from their headquarters at the Hotel Powhatan and reached the White House a few minutes before noon. More than

*An article prepared by the Secretary-Treasurer for syndicate purposes.

forty delegates were in the body. Senator Robert L. Owen, of Cherokee blood, was already with the President as the delegation entered the reception room in the Executive Mansion. The local arrangements had been made with the secretary to the president by Mr. Gabe E. Parker, who introduced the members of the Society. The President stood in the center of his office and shook hands cordially as each member was presented. Then, after a short explanation, Mr. Dennison Wheelock read the memorial, which follows:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CITY OF WASHINGTON.

His Excellency, the President of the United States:

Acting under instructions of the Fourth Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians, held on the 6th to the 11th of October, 1914, at the University of Wisconsin, in the city of Madison, Wisconsin, your petitioners respectfully present this memorial.

Congress has conferred special authority upon the President of the United States respecting the welfare of the Indians, regarded as wards of the Federal Government. We believe that this obligation lies close to your heart and we, therefore, feel free to suggest to you a few things which seem to us necessary to our welfare and progress, to our development as co-laborers and producers. We believe that you feel, with the progressive members of our race, that it is anomalous permanently to conserve within the nation groups of people whose civic condition by legislation is different from the normal standard of American life.

Definition of Legal Status.

As a race, the Indian, under the jurisdiction of the United States, has no standing in court or nation. No man can tell what its status is, either civic or legal. Confusion and chaos are the only words descriptive of the situation. This condition is a barrier to the progress of our people, who aspire to higher things and greater success.

We hold it incontrovertible that our status in this nation should be defined by federal authority. We request, therefore, that, *as the first essential to a proper solution of the Indian Problem, and even for the benefit of the nation itself, this matter be placed in the hands of a commission of three men—the best, the most competent and the kindest men to be found—and that they be authorized to study this question, and recommend to you and to the congress the passage of a code of Indian law which shall open the door of hope and progress to our people.* Our Society since its beginning has pled for this fundamental necessity of race advancement.

Admission to the Court of Claims.

We ask, also *that the Court of Claims be given jurisdiction over all Indian claims against the United States.*

This done, a great barrier to race development would be removed, for we should no longer be tied to the past with the feeling that the country had not fulfilled its obligations to our race.

We believe that more has been done, can be done to make Indian property an efficient instrument for Indian welfare; to make Indian intellect, statesmanship, and craftsmanship useful to the nation. We point with pride to the men and women, who by their achievements have demonstrated the inherent capacity of Indian blood. Our plea is that just opportunity be provided to insure the efficiency and enlarge the capacity of the thousands who have not had freedom to struggle upward and whose condition very shortly become not only a menace to themselves but a burden to the nation.

We plead, sir, that you give us the cheer of your word, that you consider our request and call upon Congress to grant the American Indians those fundamental rights and privileges, which are essential to release them from enforced wardship, dependence and consequent degeneracy; and that you advocate measures that will, according to the recognized principles of legal and economic development, speedily secure their admission to the field of even chance for individual efficiency and competency.

For the weak and helpless, for the discouraged and hopeless of our race scattered over this broad land we make this plea and petition. Through our annual conference we have carried our plea to the great universities of the land; we have striven to awaken the public conscience to the justice of our demands and now we ask you to consider the merits of our appeal. And for the boon we crave we shall ever pray.

THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN INDIANS.

Sherman Coolidge, *President.*

Chas. E. Dagenett, *Vice-President.*

December 10th, 1914.

Wm. J. Kershaw, *Vice-President.*

Arthur C. Parker, *Secretary.*

THE COMMITTEE ON MEMORIAL.

DENNISON WHEELOCK, *Chairman;*

HIRAM CHASE,

HENRY ROE-CLOUD,

F. A. MCKENZIE,

WM. J. KERSHAW.

The President remained standing at one corner of his desk during the reading and was evidently impressed. After Mr. Wheelock had handed the memorial to the President, Mr. Cool-

idge, president of the Society, delivered a few word in explanation of the object of the Society. This was followed by an address by Mr. Wm. J. Kershaw. Mr. Kershaw's speech was an eloquent classic and profoundly impressive. As the years go by it will be regarded as one of the masterpieces of Indian oratory. Congressman Charles D. Carter, former chief of the Chickasaw Council and now vice-president on legislation of the Society, made the closing address, indorsing the memorial in its plea for a new and just code of law and greater opportunity for the red man.

President Wilson replied expressing his pleasure in receiving the delegation and stating that he had not given special thought to the Indian, though he had appointed the best man he could find as Secretary of the Interior and as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He promised to give the memorial his most earnest consideration and to study the measures advocated by the Society.

Promptly upon the expiration of the term of the interview, the delegates filed from the room and out of the White House, where they faced a battery of cameras and moving picture machines.

After returning to the Hotel Powhatan for luncheon, the executive committee held an informal conference which continued until five o'clock. The speakers were: President Coolidge; Dr. C. Hart Merriam on the "Tragedy in California;" Matthew K. Sniffen on the "Cry of Alaska;" Wm. J. Kershaw, "Our Memorial;" Hiram Chase on "The Law that Restricts;" Father Philip B. Gordon on "The Relation of Education to Morality;" and General Pratt on "Why I Have Loved the Red Man."

The afternoon meeting was merely an informal discussion, the evening banquet being the event to which all looked for the final event of the day.

The local chairman of the entertainment committee was Mr. Charles E. Dagenett, and to him the success of the event is largely due. As in all of its functions, this was distinctly of high grade, every appointment being the best that could be secured. The toastmaster of the evening was Hon. Charles D. Carter. The principal speaker was Hon. Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who told of the remarkable change he had wrought in Indian affairs and vividly depicted his achievements in protecting Indian interest. Other speakers who delivered addressed were Dennison Wheelock on "The Law Bars the Way to Indian Progress;" Patrick J. Hurley on "Humor at the Bar;" Henry Roe-Cloud on "Brains and Efficiency;" Prof. F. A. McKenzie on "Principles and Dangers;" Mrs. Marie L. B. Baldwin on "What



DENNISON WHEELOCK (*Onelda*)
Chairman Memorial Committee of the Society. A successful attorney living at
West Depere, Wis.

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an Indian Woman Has to Say for Her Race;" Dr. Sherman Coolidge on "The Society;" Hon. W. A. Durant on "A National Indian Society as the Means for Race Efficiency;" and Dr. Thomas C. Moffett on "The Power of Friendship Among Races."

The banquet favors were small Indian war clubs tied with white ribbons and labeled "Peace Clubs." Upon the ribbon was printed the following stanza:

THE PEACE CLUB.

To knock with club and thrust with spear
Robs life of all its peace and cheer.
So let us CLUB together, friend,—
Then all our woes shall be at end.

The committee had hoped to have a "Peace Dinner" and had telegraphed for peace pipes, but the New York Indian Exhibits Company having no peace pipes sent war clubs! This put the committee in a quandary, for it had no warlike intentions. On the spur of the moment, however, the verse was penned, and the club used for peaceful advantage.

The meeting and presentation were convened in remarkable quick time. The president gave but seven days' notice in which to prepare for the trip to the Capitol. That the great majority of officials was present is a tribute to the strength of the Society and the harmony of its administration.

On the 11th and 12th of December the executive council held its annual meeting. By invitation of the Registrar of the Treasury most sessions were held in his office. The principal actions of interest to the membership are those relating to the policy of *The Quarterly Journal, S. A. I.*, the appointment of a board of trustees, whose chairman is Mrs. Marie L. B. Baldwin, and the selection of the meeting place for the 1915 conference. The Fifth Conference may meet under the auspices of the University of Oklahoma, in Oklahoma City, Okla. This has already led to great enthusiasm on the part of the Oklahoma membership. Lawrence, Kansas, is also seriously under consideration.

The accomplishments of the December meeting were the reaching of the President's ear, the presentation of basic facts for his consideration, a demonstration of the Society's unity and purpose, and the establishing of a deeper confidence of the public in the capacity of red men to reach out for higher things. The impression made by the memorial delegation was profound. Dr. William K. Cooper, secretary of the Washington Y. M. C. A., stated that the event was the most dignified and orderly he had ever seen

in the Executive Mansion, and his opinion was verified by Mr. Samuel Brosius, attorney for the Indian Rights Association, who affirmed that it was the most impressive event he had ever witnessed in connection with Indian affairs. Others stated that the event was a positive demonstration of the ability of Indian blood to achieve. The membership represented Indians prominent in civil, religious, and political life, including clergymen, educators, scientists, congressmen, business men, lawyers, and financiers. If these have struggled upward through adverse conditions how many more might achieve and advance as efficient factors in the national life if the laws of the land would only permit it.

In this memorable council only earnest faces were seen. The men and women who composed it were energetic factors in the life of the Republic. Every man and woman of Indian blood was conscious of his responsibilities and eager to meet his obligations to his race and to his country. Proud of the ability of race to advance, as they were, their clothing was that of citizenship of the great nation. There were no blankets, no feathers, no relics of the past, for these men and women were *the Indians of today*, pleading for the future. Their vision was fixed upon things ahead. Though in their hearts they were still loyal to the best traditions of their people, each knew that such things were a part of the past. Their appeal was not only for race and for country, but for humanity.

Thus has a new day dawned and dynamic effort has been applied from within.

The Red Man's Appeal

Being an Address to the President of the United States

By WILLIAM J. KERSHAW

MR. PRESIDENT: It is true, as our memorial states, that the Federal statute governing the Indian in nearly all of its provisions places the Indian directly and immediately under the hand of the President, so that the Government stands as their guardian and the President as a sort of guardian *ad litem*. This appeal is made in behalf of all the Indians of the United States; but it more particularly concerns the young Indians. The Indian is changed; he is not the same as he was fifteen years ago, because his vision has greatly broadened, but his opportunities have not been correspondingly enlarged. Our purpose is to secure for him opportunities.

It would seem of no avail for the Government to educate and graduate hundreds of young Indians and return them to reservations without preparing conditions there in accord with their education. These young Indians on returning to their reservations must live under the laws which were designed for the government of their ancestors when they were barbarians and virtual prisoners of war; laws under which they can do nothing for themselves or their relatives by their own initiative; laws that are very arbitrary; they must live under the government of superintendents or agents who have arbitrary power over all their affairs. They have no access to the courts of the land for the settlement of property rights or inheritances.

These rights are not determined by any tribunals known to our system of jurisprudence or to the common law; but by agencies upon which the Constitution of the United States has never conferred any judicial powers. In this behalf we must not forget the young Indian women. Estimates of Indian character or the Indian situation seldom take into account the influence of Indian women, who are good mothers, good housewives, frugal and saving, and exceptionally industrious. Indian women could develop a domestic or household manufactory exceeding in magnitude and diversity anything of the kind ever known to our history. While we are insistent and urgent in this appeal, yet we are desirous that no inference be drawn from such urgency ad-

*Delivered upon the occasion of the presentation of the Society of American Indians' Memorial, December 10, 1914.

verse to the present administration of Indian affairs. We are especially proud of that administration. We appreciate that Commissioner Sells has done splendid work. We cannot but commend his administration. He has taken the Government machinery, with all the ingrown abuses of forty years of ill advised legislation, and with it he has accomplished splendid results.

The Carter code bill, now pending before Congress, introduced by Congressman Carter, meets the situation as to the Commission. The Court of Claims ought to be thrown open for the settlement of tribal claims, which cannot be taken into Court except by consent of Congress, and branches of the court opened in every judicial district where reservations are located.

Mr. President, we are deeply in earnest in what we are seeking to do for the American Indians. Each of us could recite many instances within our personal knowledge of abuses of the reservation system but it would take too long to do so now. There is nothing that the young Indian cannot do, even those who are apparently stupid, showing exceptional mental capacity when once they strike their vocation.

We want to bring the young Indian to his place in society and we know that he will not come to that society empty handed; that he will bring to it the primary virtues of a strong self-reliant race. We ask you to heed this appeal.

Indian Progress Now or Later?

By F. A. McKENZIE.

ON THE 10th of December, 1914, the Society of American Indians carried to the President, and so to the Congress and the people of the United States, a message. They declared that they had one great imperative necessity, one fundamental need, which unless met, would continue to stand squarely and insurmountably in the way of any general progress of the race. The memorial stated:

As a race, the Indian under the jurisdiction of the United States has no standing in court or nation. No man can tell what its status is, either civic or legal. Confusion and chaos are the only words descriptive of the situation. This condition is a barrier to the progress of our people, who aspire to higher things and greater success.

We hold it incontrovertible that our status in this Nation should be defined by Federal authority. We request, therefore, that *as a first essential to a proper solution of the Indian problem, and even for the benefit of the Nation itself, this matter be placed in the hands of a commission of three men—the best, the most competent, and the kindest men to be found, and that they be authorized to study this question and recommend to you and to the Congress the passage of a code of Indian law which shall open the door of hope and progress to our people.* Our Society since its beginning has pled for this fundamental necessity of race advancement.

These are tremendous assertions to make. They are either gross untruths or sound the depths of the Indian problem. They must be proved false, or they are truths that lay the duty of immediate action upon the Nation, a duty imperative and inescapable.

Because it is known to be true by every student of the problem, it not only justifies constant reiteration, but it constitutes a permanent obligation upon every member of the Indian Society and every friend of the Indian to lift his voice and to cry aloud until the Nation shall hear and the true remedy be applied. It is not opposition, but friendship to the Nation at large that calls upon each of us to stand loyal to the banner we have raised, and having done all, to stand.

Let us make clear these points:

1. The remedy we seek is legislative, not executive. Executive orders can relieve the critical situation for particular individuals, but there is absolutely no cure for the race situation short of definite legislation. Until the statutes of the United States

declare to the contrary, the mass of Indians will be hopeless derelicts without rudder or compass. When their shelter and protection is found, not in the bounty or favor of any executive officer, but in the laws of the land, they will cease to be men and women without a country.

2. The memorial is reasonable. It does not dictate what the status of the Indian shall be. It merely asks for a scientific determination of the facts, in order that we may know what is the real cure for a race-destroying evil.

3. No authority is to be taken away from Congress. The commission asked for is to study the situation and report merely its recommendation to Congress. The ultimate decision will rest, as it has all these years, in Congress.

4. There is need of haste. The evil is great, and the shortest time in which a scientific study can bring results is two years. It will take the commission one year at least to make the study, and it will take another year for Congress to pass the necessary legislation and put it into effect. Even a single year unnecessarily lost is a tremendous loss to thousands of Indians. For many it will mean the difference between hope and destruction.

The conclusion of the whole matter is, Pass the Carter code bill. Progress and the bill are one and inseparable.

The Washington Memorial Delegation

THE original intent of the Madison Conference in directing its memorial and executive committee to present a memorial on Indian matter to the President included the idea of having a delegation of members with the official body.

Only a few days' notice could be given in advance, but a considerable body of the membership responded. This included five out of six members of the executive council, the chairman of the advisory board and six members, the entire memorial committee, the president and the secretary of the associate division, and a splendid representation of both actives, associates, and friends.

Those officially listed are included in the register below. There were others who attended the afternoon session whom the local committee did not succeed in noting. The list follows:

Rev. Sherman Coolidge, Mr. Wm. J. Kershaw, Mrs. Wm. J. Kershaw, Hon. Charles D. Carter, Mrs. Charles D. Carter, Miss Stella Carter, Miss Julia Carter, Miss Stacy Carter, Mr. Charles E. Dagenett, Mr. Dennison Wheelock, Mr. Edward Wheelock, Mr. Hiram Chase, Mr. Hiram Chase, Jr., Mr. Henry Roe Cloud, Mr. Gabe E. Parker, Mrs. Gabe E. Parker, Mr. Gabe Parker, Jr., Mr. F. A. McKenzie, Rev. Thomas C. Moffett, Mr. Arthur C. Parker, Rev. Philip B. Gordon, Rev. Amos Oneroad, Mr. John M. Oskison, Mrs. Marie L. B. Baldwin, Miss Sophie Pitchlyn, Hon. Wm. A. Durant, Mrs. Angel Decora Deitz, Mrs. Emily P. Robitaille, Mr. Wallace Denny, Mrs. Wallace Denny, Mr. Gus Welch, Mr. Charles Coon, Mr. Antonio Lubo, Mr. Patrick Hurley, Mr. John McGillis, Miss Ida P. Riley, Miss Meek, Mr. Doxtator, Miss Sophia C. Bond, Mr. Wm. K. Cooper, Mrs. Mary Longnecker, Miss Susan Janney Allen, Gen. R. H. Pratt, Mrs. R. H. Pratt, Mr. M. D. Pratt, Mrs. M. D. Pratt, Mr. Samuel Brosius, Mrs. Samuel Brosius, Mr. Matthew K. Sniffen, Miss Thamar Dupuis, Mr. Francis E. Leupp, Dr. C. Hart Merriam, Miss Beatrice Sheets, Judge Cole, Hon. Cato Sells, Mrs. Cato Sells, Hon. Edgar Briant Meritt, Mrs. Edgar Briant Meritt, Miss Fenton.

Situwaka, Chief of the Chilcats

BY GAWASA WANNEH.

NO American Indian tribe had a more highly complex social system than the Chilcats. They were a proud people and even their material culture is not to be despised. But the Chilcats do not live alone in the glories of their past. In this modern day they have no more able exponent than Situwaka, the heir to the chieftaincy of the tribe.

Situwaka has one great ambition; it is to equip his mind with the things of modern civilization that he may carry wisdom and developed ability back to Chilcat Land and govern his people well.

Situwaka has an English name by which he is better known. It is Louis V. Shotridge. Mr. Shotridge is at present on the Museum staff of the University of Pennsylvania. His ability as an expert in judging the antiquities and artifacts of the northwest coast Indians makes him a valuable member of the ethnological forces at that great institution. Besides this a residence in Philadelphia gives Mr. Shotridge an opportunity to study at the Wharton School of Commerce, connected with the university.

Mr. Shotridge is a friend of Mr. M. R. Harrington, of the University Museum, and from Mr. Harrington the writer has gleaned the facts that follow.

On his arrival in Philadelphia three years ago with his pretty young wife of Situwaka proceeded directly to the University Museum, where he paid a visit to the director. Immediately afterward he left the city.

Two days later he returned and took up his residence in West Philadelphia. Among the white men he is known as Louis V. Shotridge, but among his own people he is Situwaka, heir to the chieftainship of the Eagle clan of the Chilcat tribe, in southern Alaska. His young wife is Katwachsnea, a high-born woman of the Chilcoot branch of the Chilcat tribe.

Since becoming a resident in Philadelphia Situwaka has been engaged in going over the collections in the University Museum that came from his people, in order to explain to the curators the use and meaning of thousands of articles in these Northwest coast exhibits that have recently been added to the George G. Heye collection in the museum.



LOUIS SHOTREDGE (*Chilcat*)

Hereditary Chief of his tribe in Alaska. Now a student at the University of Pennsylvania and a member of the University Museum staff.

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The northwest coast Indians have shown their peculiar development best in their art, particularly in the carving and painting of wood and the weaving of patterns in blankets and other fabrics. Here were made the curious totem poles bearing grotesque conventional figures of animals, while wooden trunks, boxes, dishes, house fronts—everything that could be carved or painted—bore many and various conventional animal designs—complex patterns, striking in their decorative quality and originality. Similar decorations were woven into the gorgeous Chilcat blankets and engraved on silver and copper, but to the uninitiated they are all equally hard to interpret.

The Shotridges, surrounded by such things from infancy, have been able to give the museum curators much information that will hereafter form part of the records.

From what looks to the casual observer like a bewildering, complex, yet well balanced and decorative array of curves, dots and eyes—everywhere eyes—Situwaka and his wife can point out the conventional outlines of a bear, a halibut, a killer whale or a thunder bird, all of which are quite clear—after they have been pointed out.

Such patterns may represent a totem animal, which is really the coat-of-arms of some family, such as the bear or the killer whale; or the artists may have chosen a motive for their designs from among the personages and incidents of the old legends. No attempt is made to represent the animal or person in a life-like way. The sole idea was to make an artistic pattern which will at once suggest the subject to the educated eye.

With regard to the totem poles of the Chilcat Indians, Mr. Shotridge had the following to say:

"The totem pole is our coat-of-arms, not an idol. We have two distinct clans under the Chilcat tribe, the Raven and the Eagle in each of which there are several families. Some of the houses contain four totem poles, which stand for four different families. Each figure in these totem poles represents some different incident which occurred in the beginning of the family history.

"For example: The Royal family of the Raven Clan is called the Whale family. One time, when the first ancestors of this particular family were starving, a whale was washed ashore by supernatural means to save their lives. They adopted it as their crest.

"The second family in this clan, the Raven, is named after the

Great Spirit bird that at the creation of the world befriended the clan itself and became its totem.

"The third family was named the Giant, because the first son of the woman who founded this family became a giant.

"The fourth is named the Worm, because the woman who started this family raised, while she was yet a girl, a pet worm that grew to be a monster.

"Of course each of these families has a long story, which it is the duty of our people to memorize. Only principal parts of the narrative are referred to on carvings on each family totem pole. The totem poles of the Eagle clan can be explained in the same manner."

Situwaka and his wife have been away from home for several years, having started with the express intention of making a tour of the country and studying thoroughly the ways of the white man, for use in settling tribal questions later, when Situwaka takes up the duty of his office to which his birth entitles him. Since leaving home the young people have supported themselves in various ways.

Their first work was at the Lewis and Clark Exposition at Portland, Oregon, in 1905, where Katwachsnea gave an exhibition of Chilcat blanket weaving. Their next venture was in connection with the Indian Crafts Exhibition at Los Angeles, where they remained for two years, returning home at intervals. During this time they employed private tutors to teach them English and music in the spare evenings, and Situwaka developed a fine tenor voice which later stood him in good stead.

After this they toured the country with an Indian grand opera company until shortly before their arrival in Philadelphia.

The name Situwaka may be interpreted as "Wise Spirit" and refers to one of the mysterious supernatural beings supposed to hover about the medicine man.

Situwaka dressed in the ceremonial costume of a war leader of his tribe is a picture indeed. On his head he wears the ancient heraldic helmet of his own family, the Bear, the royal house of the Eagle clan of the Chilcats. It is made of hard wood and is carved to represent the face of a bear—the family crest or totem. The eight basketry rings rising from its crown represent eight great potlaches or festivals given by the head of the family. This decoration is considered a mark of highest honor.

Much of Katwachsnea's—Mrs. Shotridge's—early training, like her husband's, was along the old Indian lines, for her mother,

much against her will, insisted on training her restless fingers to construct the fine woven watertight baskets of split spruce roots, whose classic patterns and tasteful colors have given the Alaskan Indians a high place among the basket makers of the world. Beadwork was also taught her, but the greatest thing of all her training—so dull and tiresome in those childhood days when she wanted to play—was weaving the remarkable Chilcat blankets of mountain goat wool and cedar bark, the most intricate and wonderful of Indian textiles. Such were the studies of her native education, but in addition to this she spent four winters in learning other subjects in the Presbyterian mission school at Haines, Alaska.

Situwaka and Katwachsnea have become widely known in certain circles by an admiring host of friends and acquaintances. Their sincere love of their people, the proud manner in which they uphold the dignity of their race and station, demonstrates inherent refinement.



A Winnebago Girl Wins Essay Contest.

THE Society, through its Vice-President on Education, is just able to announce the results of the essay contest. Mrs. Emma D. Goulette, after patiently reading the many essays and weighing each point made, has announced Lucy E. Hunter, of Hampton Institute, as the winner. Miss Hunter, whose name was sealed in an envelope attached to the winning essay, gives her class at Hampton as the Senior Middle of 1914, and her tribe Winnebago. What seems particularly interesting is that after our inquiry as to the quantum of Indian blood the answer is "full blood." We like this demonstration of the full-blood's capacity.

The second prize goes to Henry Lang, of the Cushman School, a half-blood of the Skogit tribe. The third prize is awarded to James Smith, a full-blood Warm Springs Indian attending Haskell Institute. A full account of the contest will be contained in the next number of *The Quarterly Journal*.

*The Indian's Right of Occupancy**

BY HON. PELEG SPRAGUE

THE rights of the natives, both natural and conventional, have been strenuously denied. What right, it is asked, have the Indians to the lands they occupy? I ask, in reply, what right have the English or the French, the Spaniards or the Russians, to the countries they inhabit?

But it is insisted that the original claim of the natives has been divested by the superior right of discovery.

I have already shown that this gives no ground of claim as against the discovered; that it is a mutual understanding or conventional arrangement entered into by the nations of Europe, among themselves, to define and regulate their respective claims as discoverers, in order to prevent interference and contests with each other; all agreeing, that the sovereign who should first find a new country should be left without interference from them, to deal with it and its inhabitants, according to his ability and his conscience.

But we are told, that grants from the kings are the highest title, and have always been relied upon as such. True—as against other grantees from the crown, or against the government itself; but not as to the natives. If such a title gives any just claim as against them, they are bound to yield to it; for to every right appertains a corresponding obligation.

Were the aborigines bound to yield to such pretensions? Suppose that, more than two centuries ago, when, in unbroken strength, they held resistless sway over this whole western world, a royal patentee, with his handful of followers, just landed on these shores, should have found himself in the midst of a powerful Indian nation. The council fire is lighted up, and sachems and warriors are assembled around it. He presents himself, and says to them:

"This country is no longer yours. You must leave the forests where you hunt, and the valleys where you live. All the land which you can see from the highest mountain is mine. It has been given me by the king of the white men across the waters. Here is his grant—how can you resist so fair a title?"

*Delivered before the United States Senate, April 16, 1830, in defense of the Cherokees, by the then Senator from Maine.

If they deigned any other reply than the war-whoop, their chief might say:

"The Great Spirit, who causeth the trees to rise from the ground toward the heavens, and maketh the rivers to descend from the mountains to the valleys—who created the earth itself, and made both the red man and the white man to dwell thereon—gave this land to us and to our ancestors. You say you have a grant from your king beyond the waters—we have a grant from the King of Kings, who reigns in Heaven—by this title our fathers have held it for uncounted generations, and by this title their sons will defend it."

It has been strenuously argued that the overflow nations of Europe had a just claim to the occupancy of some portion of the vacant lands of the aborigines for their own subsistence.

The excessive population of China, and of Holland, have, at this day, the same ground of claim against the United States. May they, therefore, drive us even from our cities and villages, and take all our territory by force? We permit them to come and possess, if they submit to our laws, and pay us for the soil. The Indians have been more liberal, having ceded both soil and sovereignty to hundreds of millions of acres. The Cherokees have no more to spare: they need the residue for themselves. Shall they be permitted to retain it?

To avoid, as far as possible, all questionable ground, I at present contend only that the Indians have a right to exist as a community, and to possess some spot of earth upon which to sustain that existence. That spot is their native land. If they have no claim there, they have no right anywhere. Georgia asserts that the lands belong to her—she must, and she will have them—even by violence, if other means fail. This is a declaration of a right to drive the Cherokees from the face of the earth; for if she is not bound to permit them to remain, no nation or people are bound to receive them. To that for which I now contend, the Indians possess not only a natural, but also a legal and conventional right. These two grounds of claim have been blended and confounded.

The rights which the United States have claimed with respect to the territory of the aborigines, have been two-fold; preemptive and reversionary—a right to purchase, to the exclusion of all others, and to succeed the natives, should they voluntarily leave the country or become extinct.

It will at once be perceived that this is a right to exclude others

from interference, but not to coerce the Indians. It leaves to them the perpetual undisturbed occupancy. They cannot indeed transfer their country to others—but this does not impair their title, although it may diminish its value in the market. It still belongs to them and their heirs forever. If a State should, by law, prohibit its citizens from making sale of their lands without the assent of the executive, would it destroy every man's title? Nay, the laws do now prevent conveyances to aliens.

The right claimed is merely to exclude all others from purchasing of the aborigines. It will be divested of much of its appearance of harshness toward them by recurring to its origin. It was the primitive agreement of mutual understanding between exploring nations, that whichever should first find a new country, should alone possess the privilege of dealing with the natives; and upon this ground the discoverer excluded others from becoming purchasers. He had the right of pre-emption. This agreement trenched not upon the title of the aborigines; and as to its affecting the value of their lands, by preventing competition in the purchase, there would have been no purchaser but for the discovery.

There is no mystery in the international law of discovery. So far as it relates to this subject, it is the same as if five or six persons, being about to go in search of sugar lands in South America, should mutually engage that they would not interfere with each other in their purchases. Such agreement would do no wrong to the original owner.

The reversionary claim, as it may be denominated—although in strictness that cannot revert to another, which always belonged to the present possessor—is the necessary consequence of the exclusion of others from purchasing. It is merely a right of succession to lands of the Indians, when they shall have become extinct, or have voluntarily abandoned them by emigration; as the property of individuals sometimes escheats to the government for the want of heirs.

The right of the aborigines to the perpetual and exclusive occupancy of all their lands, has been always recognized and affirmed by the United States. It was respected by Great Britain before the revolution; as appears by the royal proclamation of 1763, in which all persons are commanded "forthwith to remove themselves" from lands, which not having been ceded to or purchased by us, are still reserved to the said Indians; and, after reciting that individuals had practiced fraud upon the natives,

forbids private persons from making purchases, to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our justice; and provides, that if the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, "the same shall be purchased only for us, in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose."

That right was recognized by the Confederation; as appears by the whole tenor of their proceedings; particularly their treaties, by which they purchased a part and guaranteed the remainder; by the report of a Committee in August, 1787, which declares that the Indians have just claims to all occupied by and not purchased of them—and the proclamation of Congress in September, 1788, which has been already referred to.

That, under our present Constitution, the rights of the natives and the relation in which they stand to the United States are such as I have described, is clearly manifested by the speech of President Washington to the Senecas in 1790, from which I have already presented some extracts and by the following explicit and deliberate letter of Mr. Jefferson, written to the Secretary of War in 1791:

"I am of opinion, that government should firmly maintain this ground: that the Indians have a right to the occupation of their lands, independent of the States within whose chartered lines they happen to be; that, until they cede them by treaty, or other transactions equivalent to a treaty, no act of a State can give a right to such lands; that neither under the present Constitution, nor the ancient Confederation, had any State or persons a right to treat with the Indians, without the consent of the general government; that that consent has never been given to any treaty for the cession of the lands in question; that the government is determined to exert all its energy for the patronage and protection of the rights of the Indians, and the preservation of peace between the United States and them; and that, if any settlements are made on lands not ceded by them, without the previous consent of the United States, the government will think itself bound, not only to declare to the Indians that such settlements are without the authority or protection of the United States, but to remove them also by the public force."

The same is also manifest by the intercourse law of 1790, forbidding all encroachments, by citizens of the United States, upon the "territory belonging to any tribe or nation of Indians—by many other statutes, particularly that of March, 1805—by all the

treaties of purchase and cession—all the laws to carry them into effect and pay the consideration—and all the acts for enabling the executive to extinguish Indian titles.”

The gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Forsyth) has referred to the correspondence at Ghent to sustain his denial of rights to the Indian tribes. He relied upon the views of the American commissioners in repelling the claims of the British. As it is sometimes more satisfactory to read for ourselves, than to take the construction of others, permit me, Sir, to present to you an extract from that correspondence.

“Under this system the Indians residing within the United States are so far independent, that they live under their own customs, and not under the laws of the United States, that their rights upon the lands where they inhabit, or hunt, are secured to them by boundaries defined in amicable treaties between the United States and themselves; and when these boundaries are varied, it is also by amicable and voluntary treaties, by which they receive from the United States ample compensation for every right they have to the lands ceded. Such is the relation between them and the United States; that relation is not now created for the first time, nor did it originate with the treaty of Grenville.”

And, consequently, the treaty of Grenville was merely declaratory of the public law—on principles previously and universally recognized. To this, Sir, was subscribed the names of all our commissioners at Ghent.

The gentleman from Alabama (Mr. M’Kinley,) to show that the natives had no title to the soil, cited the case of Johnson and McIntosh, decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, and reported in the 8th of Wheaton.

To see how precisely that case sustains my positions, let me read a few very short extracts from the opinion of the court, as delivered by Chief Justice Marshall. It declares that the right of the United States, or several States, is subject to the Indian right of occupancy; that the original inhabitants are the rightful occupants of the soil, “with a legal as well as a just claim to retain possession of it, and to use it according to their own discretion.” And again, “it has never been contended that the Indian title amounted to nothing. Their right of possession has never been questioned.”

We have heard a great deal in this debate of the right of con-

quest; and are told that it is always recognized as valid by the judicial tribunals.

True, Sir, by those of the conqueror. How can they do otherwise? Suppose that Congress should now declare a war for the sole purpose of wresting Canada from Great Britain, and should succeed; could our own courts question this exercise of political power, and refuse to sustain our jurisdiction over the country, however iniquitous the acquisition? And if in this government, where the political sovereign is under the restraints of the Constitution, the courts cannot interfere, how could they in Europe, where this doctrine had its origin? There are legislative and political powers are limited. Even in England, the parliament is legally omnipotent; and who ever heard of a judicial court undertaking to annul any of its enactments?

Whatever may be the acquiescence of other nations in the exercise of power by a conqueror, it is no ground of just claim as against the conquered. They surely are not bound to submit, if new means of resistance can be found.

To give to conquest—to mere force—the name of right is to sanction all the enormities of avarice and ambition. Alexander and Bonaparte are justified! Britain has done no wrong, in sweeping India with the hand of rapine, and holding fifty millions of people in thralldom! All the cruelties of the Spaniards in South America—the crimes of Pizarro and Cortez—tracking the fugitive natives, in terror and dismay, with blood-hounds, to the caves of the mountains; and stretching their wretched monarch upon burning coals, to extort from him the secret of his treasures—are sanctioned by the name of right! This right of conquest gentlemen contend is the legitimate offspring of the right of discovery. Sir, the pirates on the coast of Barbary and at Barataria exercise both. They find a ship alone upon the ocean—this is discovery. They capture her, and murder or enslave the crew—this is conquest. Both these rights are thus combined and consummated; and their validity will not, I presume, be questioned either by the courts of Barataria, or other bands of similar conquerors.

But even this miserable argument of conquest is not applicable to the Cherokees. They were not subjugated. The southern Indians had sixteen thousand warriors, with arms in their hands. They were powerful; their trade was war; they did not solicit peace. We sought for it, as appears by the resolution of Con-

gress, of May, 1783, and March, 1785. We obtained the treaty of Hopewell, in which gentlemen find the expressions, the "United States give peace" to the Indians and "allot boundaries": and, by a verbal criticism upon the English terms which we used, they logically deduce the rights of conquest! What did the unlettered Indian understand by those expressions, but that there was to be an end of war; and that his territory was to be sacred? The treaty contains many reciprocal stipulations of the "contracting parties." Will it still be contended that we are not bound by them because the other party was conquered—in other words, because we were the strongest? If the United States made terms of peace, should they not abide by them? If a besieged town capitulates, are not the articles of capitulation obligatory? When Bonaparte dictated treaties of peace in the capitals of the nations which he had overrun, was he not morally bound to observe them? They indeed might complain that the contract was made by constraint, when they were not free agents; but who ever heard of the stronger party claiming to be absolved from his engagements, because the other was subject to his coercion?



The Shadow that Precedes Coming Events.

HISTORY is being made in Indian affairs. The Indian Bureau is doing things that are counting for a change for the better. It is doing this by two methods, first, that of direct design, and second, in spite of itself.

The Commissioner is to be commended for several strong things he has done in local instances. He has grasped a number of local measures and applied the power vested in him with intelligence. This is good. It must be asked, however, if under the restrictions which the present system imposes on a man or group of men in office if he or they can ever bring about a radical change. Does the present system make better manhood and encourage the development of good citizenship among Indians?

We should like to know if there is after all a deep abiding faith in the capacity of the red man, and whether these man have underlying all their acts a constructive philosophy, logical and consistent with human evolution.

*An Indian Bureau Reminiscence**

BY WALT WHITMAN.

AFTER the close of the Secession War in 1865, I worked several months (until Mr. Harlan turn'd me out for having written "Leaves of Grass") in the Interior Department at Washington, in the Indian Bureau. Along this time there came to see their Great Father an unusual number of aboriginal visitors, delegations for treaties, settlement of lands, etc.—some young or middle-aged, but mainly old men, from the West, North, and occasionally from the South—parties of from five to twenty each—the most wonderful proofs of what Nature can produce, (the survival of the fittest, no doubt—all the frailer samples dropt, sorted out by death)—as if to show how the earth and woods, the attrition of storms and elements, and the exigencies of life at first hand, can train and fashion men, indeed chiefs, in heroic massiveness, imperturbability, muscle, and that last and highest beauty consisting of strength—the full exploitation and fruitage of a human identity, not from the culmination-points of "culture" and artificial civilization, but tallying our race, as it were, with giant, vital, gnarl'd, enduring trees, or monoliths of separate hardest rocks, and humanity holding its own with best of the said trees or rocks, and outdoing them.

There were Omahas, Poncas, Winnebagoes, Cheyennes, Navahos, Apaches, and many others. Let me give a running account of what I see and hear through one of these conference collections at the Indian Bureau, going back to the present tense. Every head and face is impressive, even artistic; Nature redeems herself out of her crudest recesses. Most have red paint on their cheeks, however, or some other paint. ("Little Hill" makes the opening speech, which the interpreter translates by scraps.) Many wear head tires of gaudy-color'd braid, wound around thickly—some with circlets of eagles' feathers. Necklaces of bears' claws are plenty around their necks. Most of the chiefs are wrapt in large blankets of the brightest scarlet. Two or three have blue, and I see one black. (A wise man call'd "the Flesh" now makes a short speech, apparently asking something. Indian Commissioner Dole answers him, and the interpreter translates in scraps again.)

*From "November Boughs," by Walt Whitman. David McKay, publisher. Philadelphia, 1888.

All the principal chiefs have tomahawks or hatchets, some of them very richly ornamented and costly. Plaid shirts are to be observ'd—none too clean. Now a tall fellow, "Hole-in-the-Day," is speaking. He has a copious head-dress composed of feathers and narrow ribbon, under which appears a countenance painted all over a bilious yellow. Let us note this young chief. For all his paint, "Hole-in-the-Day" is a handsome Indian, mild and calm, dress'd in drab buckskin leggings, dark gray surtout, and a soft black hat. His costume will bear full observation, and even fashion would accept him. His apparel is worn loose and scant enough to show his superb physique, especially in neck, chest, and legs. ("The Appolo Belvidere!" was the involuntary exclamation of a famous European artist when he first saw a full grown young Choctaw.)

One of the red visitors—a wild, lean-looking Indian, the one in the black woolen wrapper—has an empty buffalo head, with horns on, for his personal surmounting. I see a markedly Bourbonish countenance among the chiefs (It is not very uncommon among them, I am told.) Most of them avoided resting on chairs during the hour of their "talk" in the Commissioner's office; they would sit around on the floor, leaning against something, or stand up by the walls, partially in their blankets. Though some of the young fellows were, as I have said, magnificent and beautiful animals, I think the palm of unique picturesqueness, in body, limb, physiognomy, etc., was borne by the old or elderly chiefs, and the wise men.

My here-alluded-to experience in the Indian Bureau produced one very definite conviction, as follows: There is something about these aboriginal Americans, in their highest characteristic representations, essential traits, and the ensemble of their physique and physiognomy—something very remote, very lofty, arousing comparisons with our own civilized ideals—something that our literature, portait painting, etc., has never caught, and that will almost certainly never be transmitted to the future, even as a reminiscence. No biographer, no historian, no artist, has grasp'd it—perhaps could not grasp it. It is so different, so far outside our standards of eminent humanity. Their feathers, paint—even the empty buffalo skull did not, to say the least, seem any more ludicrous to me than many of the fashions I have seen in civilized society. I should not apply the word savage (at any rate, in the usual sense) as a leading word in the description of those great aboriginal specimens, of whom I certainly saw many

of the best. There were moments, as I look'd at them or studied them, when our own exemplification of personality, dignity, heroic presentation anyhow (as in the conventions of society, or even in the accepted poems and plays,) seem'd sickly, puny, inferior.

The interpreters, agents of the Indian Department, or other whites accompanying the bands, in positions of responsibility, were always interesting to me; and I had many talks with them. Occasionally I would go to the hotels where the bands were quarter'd and spend an hour or two informally. Of course we could not have much conversation—though (through the interpreters) more of this than might be supposed—sometimes quite animated and significant. I had the good luck to be invariably receiv'd and treated by all of them in their most cordial manner.

Letter to W. W. from an artist, B. H., who has been much among the American Indians:

"I have just receiv'd your little paper on the Indian delegations. In the fourth paragraph you say that there is something about the essential traits of our aborigines which 'will almost certainly never be transmitted to the future.' If I am so fortunate as to regain my health I hope to weaken the force of that statement, at least in so far as my talent and training will permit. I intend to spend some years among them and shall endeavor to perpetuate on canvas some of the finer types, both men and women, and some of the characteristic features of their life. It will certainly be well worth the while. My artistic enthusiasm was never so thoroughly stirr'd up as by the Indians. They certainly have more of beauty, dignity and nobility mingled with their own wild individuality, than any of the other indigeneous types of man. Neither black nor Afghan, Arab nor Malay (and I know them all pretty well) can hold a candle to the Indian. All of the other aboriginal types seem to be more or less distorted from the model of perfect human form—as we know it—the blacks, thin-hipped, with bulbous limbs, not well mark'd; the Arabs large-jointed, etc. But I have seen many a young Indian as perfect in form and feature as a Greek statue—very different from a Greek statue of course, but as satisfying to the artistic perceptions and demand.

"And the worst, or perhaps the best of it all is that it will require an artist—and a good one—to record the real facts and impressions. Ten thousand photographs would not have the value of one really finely felt painting. Color is all-important. No one but an artist knows how much. An Indian is only half an Indian without the blue-black hair and the brilliant eyes shining out of the wonderful dusky ochre and rose complexion."

What Indians Must Do

BY CARLOS MONTEZUMA, M. D. (*Apache*).

WE MUST free ourselves. Our peoples' heritage is freedom. Freedom reigned in their whole make-up. They harmonized with nature and lived accordingly. Preaching freedom to our people on reservations does not make them free any more than you can, by preaching, free those prisoners who are in the penitentiary. Reservations are prisons where our people are kept to live and die, where equal possibilities, equal education and equal responsibilities are unknown.

For our people to know what freedom is they must go outside of the reservation and in order for them to harmonize with it and get used to it, they must live outside of the reservations.

Within half, yes, within a quarter of a century, proofs are not wanting that Indian boys and girls have gone out away from the reservation and are now men and women among men and women. It is a conceded fact among educators that education and self-development in the best environment is the best and highest object of mankind for its succeeding generation.

The soldier who founded the renowned Carlisle school must have been inspired that to develop the man part of the Indian the pappoose must be taken away as young as possible from his people, away from the reservation and placed in the midst of good environment and in the best civilized community and there school him in the best schools. Since "the little red school house," the high schools and the state universities and other educational institutions are good enough for other races, they are also good enough for the papposes of our race instead of distinctive Indian schools. You can not get ahead of education; in the long run it wins. There is nothing like education. It makes one independent. It is the educated man that is wanted most in the world. Education is the light that leads us to truth and the truth shall make us free.

Dominating government for our people has reached its climax. It seems that an Indian can not speak to or for his people without being suspicioned. When such thing occurs, that Indian is pointed out as a grafter or trouble maker. Also on the reservations, just about the time we try to fly a little bit, the Indian Agent clips us

and tells us that we must not disobey "Washington." The clipping is the putting us in jail and allowing the poor partial Indian Judges (who are selected by the Agent) to pass their sentence on us.

Espionage on reservations has created factions and suspicion among our people. Our people are not up to "trick plays." Where faction exists among our people while we are dealing with the Government our people's cause is weakened and we have and will lose in every transaction with the Government by not sticking together. Is there not a lesson in this for the Society of American Indians, that we must stand together, work together, and single our purpose to the noble object of our organization.

It requires extreme love or extreme hate to awaken us. Sons of the aboriginal Indians, do you know we have been driven from the heritage of our fathers from generation to generation until we can not take another step! What are we going to do? We must decide for ourselves very quickly. Are we to disappear as the buffaloes or rise above the horizon of the twentieth century and respond, "We are here"! The sound of your own voice at the roll call will be at the end of the final battle to gain your freedom, be your individual self: The Society of American Indians will not cease until Indians have gained that standard that makes one true and free.

We must do away with the Indian Bureau. The reservation system has debarred us as a race from acquiring that knowledge to appreciate our property. The Government after teaching us how to live without work has come to the conclusion "that the Indians are not commercialists" and, therefore, "we (his guardian) will remove them as we think best and use them as long as our administration lasts and make friends." The Indian Department has drifted into commercialism at the expense of our poor benighted people. So they go on and say: "Let us not allot those Indians on that sweet flowing water because there are others who will profit by damming it up and selling it out to the newcomers; that the Indians do not use or develop their lands; five acres of irrigated land is all that one Indian can manage, but in order to be generous, we will give him ten acres and close up the books and call it square; that their vast forest does them no good, before the Indian can open his eyes let us transfer it to the Forestry Reserve Department. Never mind, let the Indian scratch for his wood to cook with and to warm himself in the years to come; that the Indians have no use for rivers, therefore,

we will go into damming business and build them on their lands without their consent. Pay? No! Why should we?" They give us "C" class water instead of "A" class. They have got us! Why? Because we do not know the difference.

"In this valley the Indians have too much land. We will move them from where they have lived for centuries" (by Executive order in behalf of the coming settlers). Even if he had cultivated and claims more than that, we will allot that Indian only ten acres. If he rebels and makes trouble, we will put him in jail until he is ready to behave himself." This poor Indian may try to get an Indian friend to help him out of his predicament. But right there the Indian helper is balked by the Indian Department and is told he is not wanted on the reservation. When an Indian collects money from among his tribe to defray expenses to Washington and back in order to carry their complaints, and to be heard and considered in their rights, the superintendent with the aid of the Indian policeman takes this Indian, takes the money away from him and gives back the money to those who contributed, put him in jail and brands him as a grafter.

My Indian friends, it seems that we have no voice in our affairs. It seems that all we can do is to sit there like dummies and see our property fade away and wonder what next. Our woods go to the forestry reserve; our fertile lands to the Irrigation Project; our rich minerals to the miners, and our waters to the interested parties that build dams and reap the profit within our reservations. In all of these it seems that we are counted out. If our Society is going to amount to anything do you not think we ought in some way stand up for our people? If this taking away what belongs to us continues very much longer, where do you suppose we will land?

As the Society of American Indians, it is our duty to protect and aid in some way, to stop these wholesale smuggling away of our people's property. Can you imagine any other race allowing this without their consent?

The sooner the Government abolishes the Indian Bureau, the better it will be for we Indians in every way. The system that has kept alive the Indian Bureau has been instrumental in dominating over our race for fifty years. In that time the Indian's welfare has grown to the secondary and the Indian Bureau the whole thing, and therefore a necessary political appendage of the Government. It sends out exaggerated and wonderful reports to the public in order to suck the blood of our race, so that it may

have perpetual life to sap your life, my life and our children's future prospects. There are many good things to say about the Indian Department. It started out right with our people. It fed them, clothed them and protected them from going outside of the reservations. It was truly a place of refuge. Then they were dominated by agents; now they are called superintendents. On the reservation our people did not act without the consent of the Superintendent; they did not express themselves without the approval of the Superintendent, and *they did not dare to think*, for that would be to rival, to the Superintendent. Yesterday, today, our people are in the same benighted condition. As Indians they are considered non-entities. They are not anything to themselves and not anything to the world.

It would be wrong for me to come here and tell you that the reservation system is good and helpful to our people, and that the Indian Bureau should be perpetuated when I know in my heart that it has been the greatest hindrance on the road from Indian life to civilization. Look at New York and Chicago, and then at the tepees on reservations. Look at Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Madison, and then at the day schools on Indian reservations; hear the screeching locomotives and the whirr of industry and see the light of electricity; behold the grand panorama of agriculture of green gardens from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts, from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico; and then behold the lounging Indians around agency buildings and under shady trees. Paradoxical as the statement may sound, it is nevertheless true, that the greatest obstacle that lies along the path toward the solution of our problem is the existence of the "helpful" Indian Bureau at Washington. It is the power plant that supplies life current to the reservations. It is long range, outside life, and does not grow from within.

The Indian Bureau seems to exist for no other purpose than to preserve the reservations. In other words the source from which the Indian ought to find relief from the evils of the reservation system is the very source without which the evil would not exist.

As a Society, we must not be timid and shrink and hold back on this stand against the Indian Bureau. The Indian Bureau will not free itself. If we are progressive for our peoples' interests, we must be the first one to voice it; we must first start the wave of public sentiment throughout the breadth and length of the country; we must stir up righteous indignation and we must make the

first move to abolish the Indian Bureau from the face of the earth; not until then shall we be perfectly free.

After doing this, with our support, we must fight out our own salvation.

In a book called "Success among Nations" I read the following: "Each square foot of European soil has cost thousands, not to say hundreds of thousands of European lives." There is nothing gained on this earth without a fight, without a struggle, without personal effort. The Government has tried to carry our people on flowery beds of ease by gradual process into civilization. It has been a total failure, because it lacked that discipline for the Indians that all men must go through from their births to their graves.

Indians expected a change in this administration, a radical change for the better, but a change without changing is not changing at all. Allowing the same men that controlled the Indian machine in former administrations to continue in their respective places is only another way of saying that the present administration will follow in the path of its predecessors. All they will do is to oil the same old machine, screw this a little tighter so that it won't rattle so much and adjust it here and there and let it go at that. The rest of the time we will move around, make believe we are doing something. Individually we can not as a tribe nor can a whole tribe go to Washington in behalf of their affairs, but we can chip in our mite towards employing an attorney or a representative to take our place. This settling up with the Government of our affairs is a legal proposition. It behooves every Indian tribe to employ legal talent to adjust their affairs. It is not fair for the Government to select our attorney any more than it is for us to select their attorney for them. We are two interested parties. It is not right for the one interested party to select an attorney for the other. The time has come that we Indians are ready to battle our own way in the world. Justice from the world can be no worse than the reservation system.

After starvation, rubbing up against the world and perchance surviving our reward will be independence. Once upon a time our ancestors were supremely independent. All they surveyed was theirs. There was none to dispute their claim. It was an ideal independence and worthy of imitation, but time has changed and conditions have changed with it. Somehow and for no other reason but that our people were Indians were they enslaved to separate existence and governed under different rules from the

general government of the country. It is an appalling thing to think of such a thing and it does not look right and just. As their childrens' children we ought to be ashamed of ourselves that we tolerate this national abuse any longer without our resentment, without trying to redeem our people.

To a great extent it is our fault because we have taken no interest, no thought and no consideration to change and to look around to be really free. We Indians must let loose from these things that cause us to be separate from the laws and rules that other races enjoy. It is a delusion to think that we are free when we are reservation Indians and governed by the Indian Bureau.

We must be independent. When with my people for a vacation in Arizona I must live outdoors; I must sleep on the ground; I must cook in the fire on the ground; I must sit on the ground, I must eat nature's food and I must be satisfied with inconveniences that I do not enjoy at my Chicago home. Yet those blood relations of mine are independent, happy, because they were born and brought up in that environment, while as a greenhorn I find myself dependent and helpless in such simple life. In order for we Indians to be independent in the whirl of this other life, we must get into it and get used to it and live up to its requirements and take our chances with the rest of our fellow creatures. Being caged up and not permitted to develop our facilities has made us a dependent race. We are looked upon as hopeless to save and as hopeless to do anything for ourselves. The only Christian way, then, is to leave us alone and let us die in that condition. The conclusion is true that we will die that way if we do not hurry up and get out of it and hustle for our salvation. Did you ever notice how other races hustle and bustle in order to achieve independence? Reservation Indians must do the same as the rest of the wide world.

As a full-blooded Apache Indian I have nothing more to say. Figure out your responsibility and the responsibility of every Indian that hears my voice.

Paternalism Does Not Promote Progress

BY CHARLES W. CHICKENEY (*Menomini*)

FOR many years thoughtful men of Indian blood in the United States have been watching the growth and development of what is popularly known as "paternalism." They have studied its manifestoes, weighed its plans and purposes for doing away with admitted evils of tribal inhesion and for bringing about a universal and permanent readjustment of the Indian race. While they have been thinking, the Indians have also been acting, speaking, lecturing, writing, publishing, making up in noise and enthusiasm what they lacked in number, until to-day the American Indian has attained a measure of success and has interpreted the needs of his race to the American public, that can no longer be ignored nor evaded; they must be met and must be answered, and in a more direct and efficient way than has yet been dealt. The Indian of to-day believes that paternalism is economically false, politically unsound, morally and ethically bankrupt, and in the last analysis fundamentally destructive of the rights and best interest of all Indian tribes. It is safe to say that few, even among men of the administration of Indian Affairs, understand what paternalism is, and still fewer among the general public apprehend its significance, because its theory which has exposed its fallacies have not to any large degree reached the people, and there has been so systematic and sustained attempt to educate public opinion in reference to the influence of paternalism on Indians.

The thinking Indian has examined the claims of paternalism as a remedy for the salvation of the Indian from existing evils. Does it cure them? Is its program based upon those fundamental laws of righteousness and justice which every citizen admits, in theory at least, are necessary to civilized social order? Are the laws of its constitution such as to warrant the belief that it will supplant evil with good, poverty with plenty? Does it encourage the Indians? Does it benefit the Indians? What is its real attitude towards the Indians? Does it stimulate their individual effort? What has been the results of its teachings to date? Is the theory of paternalism correct? Is paternalism sound or is it illogical? Will its success be for public interest? These are the questions

which intelligent and thoughtful men of Indian blood are asking.

Paternalism is unworthy to be considered as an economic system for the American Indian. It is a "make believe." It is a wolf in sheep's clothing, seeking to destroy, it is not truthful nor honest, nor just, nor brotherly. It will not free the Indian nor emancipate his individuality to a state wherein he is a contributing and self-sustaining member of society. It ignores all true freedom and blights all ambition.

All sincere men of Indian blood are working for and desirous of promoting a higher and better civilization. All thinking Indians are agreed that great economic and social reforms must be brought about for the preservation and welfare of the whole Indian people. Under the regime of paternalism they are not contented at home, for they have been taught that the reservation is the hot bed of ignorance and vice. They turn to the white race and the white race receives them not. Their people at home fear and distrust them for reasons; because they are not capable of defending their own rights and the rights of their people against the malicious doctrine of paternalism. Here then is a question for us to consider, "Must paternal oversight be allowed to continue forever on Indian reservations and no attempt made to reduce it?" Seeing its advance and recognizing its purposes, shall nothing be done to educate and arouse the public of its dangers and delusions to the Indians? How can Americanism be taught through paternalism?

The thinking Indians of to-day believe the time has come to strike this deceit in a way that it can neither successfully answer nor resist, making known its principles and uncovering its claims and purposes so that every Indian tribe of this country may have the opportunity of learning, for themselves, whether paternalism is the "cure for all tribal inhesion" it pretends to be, or whether it only conserves tribalism.

Paternalism cannot be opposed with the glittering generalities of the platforms or dry as dust tracts of the political economist. It must be met by a more direct and systematic movement. A movement that shall appeal to the intelligence and conscience of the American people, as the Society of the American Indians proposes to do, through the medium of its *Quarterly Journal*.

Believing that nothing can permanently succeed not founded on the eternal principles of right and justice, we appeal to all intelligent and patriotic Americans to read and to consider; to compare and to judge; to listen to the voice of reason and con-

science of the American Indian and act accordingly to aid them. Every American who loves his country and her Constitution and who believes that the welfare of the Republic must be advanced in accordance with law and order, should seriously consider the value of the Indian to the blood of the nation, his ability to do, to construct and achieve. Therefore banish paternalism and give the red man the freedom an American should enjoy.



The Indian Rights Association.

THE Thirty-second Annual Report of the Indian Rights Association, just issued, is a vigorous document. It might justly be used as a text book on current Indian affairs.

Some of the live subjects discussed by Mr. Matthew Sniffen in his report as secretary of the Association are "Commissioner Sell's Administration," "The Carlisle School," "The Alaska Expedition," and "A Threatened Spoils Raid and Some Northwest Indians." Mr. Sniffen has used his eyes to good advantage, especially in his trip to Alaska with Dr. T. S. Carrington.

The report of the Washington agency, by Mr. M. Brosius, is of special interest. The association is fortunate indeed in having Mr. Brosius as an officer and attorney. In discussing general principles he makes one strong assertion. He states:

"We are convinced that there will be no substantial or satisfactory solution of the Indian question until the red man is set free. Not that he should be given a fee patent immediately for the land to be utilized by him for a home, but in most other respects he should be placed under similar environment in law with his citizen neighbor. The act of May 8, 1906, which defers clothing him with citizenship until the termination of the trust period by which the Government retains title to the land should be repealed. . . . If individual Indians are given the responsibilities of citizenship and made to carry their own burdens, they will undoubtedly grow to meet them successfully. Some, perchance, may fall, and as to these it is a part your duty to assist them as we can."

Attacks on the Civil Service in Indian Affairs

HON. WILLIAM S. WASHBURN, *before the Mohonk Conference.**

EFFORTS were made in Congress during the consideration of the Indian appropriation bill for the current year to insert various riders taking certain positions out of the classified civil service, and a further provision would have ousted all those who were regularly appointed before their positions were brought within the operation of the civil-service law and rules, regardless of their efficiency and capability. It is clear that civil service examinations given to untried and inexperienced applicants to determine the order in which they shall be certified for appointments are not designated to test the efficiency of employees already in the service or their fitness for retention, that the determination of efficiency and fitness for retention is a function of administrative officers, and that it is contrary to principle and precedent to require employees who have demonstrated their efficiency by actual work to pass a civil service examination intended for applicants for entrance to the service or to be dismissed.

The friends of the Indian Service who followed the hearings before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs during the consideration of the Indian appropriation bill felt somewhat alarmed in view of the sentiment favoring the exemption of certain positions from the requirements of the civil-service law. Curiously enough, while it was urged that employees already in the service who had not a civil-service examination status should not be retained, it was at the same time urged by the proponents of these measures that no examination should be required to fill certain positions, such as inspectors, special agents, supervisors, and physicians. It would be difficult to discover on what principle such adverse provisions in the bill could be based. But the purpose, for it can not properly be called a principle, was no doubt the same in both cases, namely, to create vacancies which might be filled through personal or political preferment—the *spoils system*. The wholesale disparagement of the ability and efficiency of the personnel of the Indian Service during the hearings before the Senate committee by those endeavoring to secure the withdrawal from the classified service of certain of the higher grade positions was an unfair as it was ungenerous to a body of employees so many of whom by education, training, and experi-

*Oct. 14, 1914.

ence possess unusual mental and moral qualifications for the work of promoting the welfare of the Indian.

The Civil Service Commission is able to offer the best qualified persons available in the country to fill vacant positions, and positions in the classified Indian Service can be better filled through appropriate civil-service examination than by the old method of selection by the appointing officer on the recommendation of personal and political friends.

None of the proposals, all of which are inimical to the efficiency of the Indian Service and therefore to the Indian, was retained in the act as passed, but as the efforts to remove some of the higher grade positions from the classified service and again make them the subject of political patronage and personal favoritism, with all the inefficiency and scandal inevitably attending, may be renewed; and it is not inopportune for this conference to record its approval or disapproval of the principle of maintaining the integrity of the classified service of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and to express its view whether or not the merit system ought to prevail in filling vacancies and making changes in the personnel of the Indian Service.



The Fifth Conference

THE Fifth Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians will be held at the University of Kansas, at Lawrence, September 28th or October 6th. The earlier date seems most probable at this writing.

Lawrence has held out its hand to us for several years and its university has extended us a hearty welcome. An added advantage is the opportunity of enlisting the interest of the large body of Indian students at Haskell Institute. Superintendent Wise has been a friend of the Society since the beginning. He attended the Fourth Conference at Madison. Wisconsin University is his alma mater.

The Society has assumed the duty of bringing the modern needs of the Indian race to the highest courts of intelligence in the land by meeting within the halls of the universities throughout the country. It is our desire to create a different impression of the race and its future than that held by the generation gone by. This is a new day and age. The white man has changed and must know that the red man moves forward as well.

The Ride of Red Fox James for American Indian Day

THROUGH the energy of one of our active members, Mr. F. Red Fox James, our plan to inaugurate American Indian Day as a national holiday is receiving marked attention.

The Second Conference indorsed the idea and *The Quarterly Journal* pushed the matter into the press, before every historical society in the country, before the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Sons of the Revolution, and even wrote college presidents. There was a cordial response on the part of many and apathy on the part of more. The Indian at long distance and in print is an intangible quantity in which men have little interest. The ordinary mortal is only curious about Indians, and not interested, until brought face to face with one whose mental endowments challenge his own.

Red Fox James, a part-blood Indian, fresh from the cattle ranges of Montana and Nebraska, had something of this philosophy when he mounted his pony and promised the Great Spirit he would storm the citadels of opinion alone, exact a support in favor of American Indian Day, and then bear his indorsements to the President of the United States.

No Don Quixote was Red Fox, and no wind mills did he fight for mere chivalry. On his plain, trim, cow-punching pony he rode his way from State to State, visited churches, Y. M. C. A.'s, mayors, and governors. He met them face to face with his proposition and won an unanimous approval.

The other day he carried his testimonials and his memorials to the President with whom, on December 17th, he held audience. He was escorted by the Boy Scout troops of Washington and backed by the officers of the Society of American Indians.

Concerning the proposition which had considerable publicity during the closing months of 1912, the *Berkshire Gleaner* had the following to say:

"There should be a new American holiday," says Mr. A. C. Parker. "This holiday should be called American Indian Day. The descendants of nearly every race that has come to America celebrate some kind of a holiday. We are told that there are too many holidays now. Here is a day, however, that has been overlooked and which simple justice should recognize as eminently worthy of nation wide celebration."

Mr. Parker goes on to tell of the general interest in the American Indian, of our exterminating him, and says now is an opportunity to make good. It would be a great day for the Red Men, the Boy Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls, for historical societies. October 12th is suggested.

There certainly is a good reason for the American Indian Day. This was the Indian's own country. His people were the original proprietors of the land. We call them savages but they were no more savage than other uncivilized peoples and some who call themselves civilized. Much of their savagery and more of their degradation was caused by coming in contact with white men. Where rightly treated, the red man proved true friends of the whites.

We do not believe in the multiplication of holidays—that is, days to knock off work and close up business. The tendency of too many idle days is towards national poverty. But days like Washington's birthday, Lincoln's birthday, Lexington day, Columbus day, and now American Indian day with suitable celebrations, have a worthy place in the national life, by keeping in touch with men of the past who have helped us to make the great nation we are—lest we forget. It may be said that the red man has not had a part in making us great. Who says that, fails to remember that to the American Indian our literature, in prose and poem, owes an unpayable debt. The red man, in his living close to the heart of nature, his fine poetic nature which saw the living spirit that dwells in the woods and waters, his conception of the Manitou or Holy Spirit, his puissant courage and endurance of pain, his unfailing gratitude for kindness shown him, his independence to the core (the American Indian could not be enslaved) has had a share in contributing to our national character. Mr. Parker's idea is a worthy one.

The date when this holiday should be celebrated is a matter of importance. Several are suggested. Mid-June when nature has perfected the foliation of trees and plants would seem a fitting time to pay tribute to the Indian and the land he gave the white man. *The Quarterly Journal* also suggests the Saturday preceding the twelfth of October as emblematical of the closing of the aboriginal period in America. Columbus day would then celebrate the discovery and the dawn of European civilization. A Saturday holiday would permit a general participation by the people.

Mr. James collected many indorsements of this idea, some of which follow:

Gov. Jno. M. Haines, of Idaho:

I indorse the proposed plan to set aside an Indian day. I feel that the North American Indians, the first settlers of this country should be recognized and honored by this tribute to their place in history of the United States.

Gov. Woodridge A. Ferris, of Michigan:

I favor the setting apart of a day called Indian Day. It seems to me the United States might be doing herself credit in extending such courtesy to the American Indians.

Gov. James F. Fielder, of New Jersey :

I am in sympathy with the undertaking to establish an Indian Day. It is my hope that members of Congress from New Jersey will assist in realizing this end.

Gov. Geo. Wm. P. Hunt, of Arizona :

The proposal to have a national holiday to be known as Indian Day has had my careful consideration, and in view of the intimate relation which the North American Indians bears to the early history of the United States, I would regard the proposed annual holiday as being well worthy of observation by the people of this country, and as having a very distinctive historical significance.

Gov. Henry D. Hatfield, of West Virginia :

I will urge Congressmen from West Virginia to give earnest consideration to the movement inaugurated by the North American Indians to have a day each year set aside as Indian Day.

Gov. Geo. W. Hays, of Arkansas :

I am heartily in accord with the movement to designate an Indian Day, and will ask Arkansas's Congressmen to render every possible assistance.

Gov. Jas. H. Cox, of Ohio :

I am heartily in favor of the Federal Government in setting aside an annual Indian Day. The early settlers of this country are surely entitled to that much consideration.

Gov. L. B. Hanna, of North Dakota :

I am very glad indeed to indorse Indian Day as a national day in memory of American Indians.

Gov. Cole L. Blease, of South Carolina :

I would be very glad indeed to see a day set apart to be known as Indian Day. I would change the date from October 4th to October 8th, however.

Gov. Elliot W. Major, of Missouri :

It would be well for the Federal Government to set aside a day in each year to be known as Indian Day.

Gov. Frank M. Byrne, of South Dakota :

I unhesitatingly say that I would like to see such a day as Indian Day set aside and perhaps made a holiday.

Gov. O. B. Colquitt, of Texas :

I am in hearty accord with this movement having for its view the welfare of the Indians of the United States.

Gov. Geo. H. Hodges, of Kansas :

I am heartily in favor of Indian Day.

Gov. Lee Cruce, of Oklahoma:

I would be glad if Congress would recognize in some fitting way the American Indians it would seem that one day in the year dedicated to their memory would be the most fitting form of recognition.

Gov. Park Trammel, of Florida:

I beg to advise that personally I would be pleased to see such action that of the Federal Government designating a certain day to be known as Indian Day.

Gov. Phillips Lee Goldsborough, of Maryland:

I have been asked by the Society of American Indians to indorse the movement made by that organization for the establishment of a National Day to be known as "Indian Day" in memory of the American Indians and his life in American history. I therefore see no reason why such a day should not be so established by proper authority.

Gov. H. C. Stuart, of Virginia:

I unhesitatingly indorse the movement of "Indian Day" that the original American have a place in American history.



Shall it be Life, or Death?

OH, WHEN shall the tide turn and purposeful administration come? The Indian race in the United States was never so near salvation and never so near permanent ruin as to-day. Out of the vast confusion and the bulky machinery arising from organized governmental effort through the Indian Bureau, there must arise the clear voice of definite direction. There must be a human plan and a human end in view. There must be a fundamental philosophy governing the Indian administration. It is not necessary to announce in advance the details of administrative plans if there is an expressed belief. In this great trust of molding the destiny of a people now crushed and confused, there is much at stake. The stake is not lands, funds, or cattle, but lives—human lives. Those who suffer are men and women and children—future citizens of the Republic. There has been an awful deed perpetrated upon the native American. It has been the grossest robbery,—a robbery not of land and money, but of the Indian's old initiative, self-reliance, strong character, and his mental life. How shall these vital attributes of virile humanity be restored? That is one of the problems that civilization should consider, for if it fails to make a just restitution it must forever gaze at the blood stains on its doorsteps and make its path over the graves of the red men it has so brutally and stupidly killed.

How to Ruin the Indians in Agriculture

APPARENTLY the best method to ruin Indian agriculture is to appoint a man who despises Indians as supervisor of Indian agriculture and stock raising. Such a man can best effect the ruination of Indians and their industries by having a long, crooked record and by being averse to employing or consulting Indians. He need have no special scientific knowledge of either agriculture or stock raising. In this way he can force the Indians to do the injurious things he has in mind. Of course the Indian Office must protect him from public exposure and refuse to listen to complaints.

So fortified, such a man can work out several schemes for pauperizing the Indians, ruining their herds and flocks, thereby proving the Indians with incapacity and therefore needing his services so much the longer.

Here are some directions which he may follow: First, he may consider the Navajo sheep and how they grow. In a desert land he will find that the wonderful Navajo Indians have reared a variety of sheep that is able to run for miles to get the scanty food that supports the flock. They can go long hours without water. Nature and necessity have so shorn the wool from their bellies that the cacti and thorny bushes will not tear at their under parts. Such sheep can live in Navajo land. None other can. Now knowing these things, the plotter can cry, "Let us improve the Navajo sheep; they do not yield wool enough. What though they are the finest mutton sheep in the country and have a good, gamy flavor, it is wool that we want for our wards, the Navajo!" Answering his cry the Indian Bureau can send down barn-bred rams from the watered alfalfa fields of the regions northeast of the Navajo. Fine wooly fellows these rams are, and how charitable it looks to improve the poor, hungry flocks in the deserts. Then enter the rams on the scene. The ewes scramble over the sparsely vegetated country searching furtively for a blade of succulent food. The rams run, how they run! They lose their fat, they pant for breath. The speed of the flock is killing them, and they drag on panting, behind. The food is scarce, their progeny weak. They are unfit for the environment in which they have been placed. This is a pretty good scheme of how to ruin the Navajo sheep, but it will make more business for sheep dealers

and will be regarded as demonstrating the Navajo's childish ignorance. Of course the Navajo's must not be asked whether they want this new "blooded stock." Oh, no, the Indian must never be consulted.

Up in the north the Indians have many herds. With the steers there graze many cows. Now, why not ruin these herds by taking out all the virile male stock and importing blooded bulls from barns and pastures. This seems like a merciful thought and would seem to improve the blood of the Indian's stock. But, long-horned steers do not like dehorned bulls, and when a hornless bull sees two two-foot horns lifted in his flank he runs with all his fight vanished in the dust of his feet. The results are obvious. The full-blood who may have no barn but who grazes his stock in an open range gets no calves. His stock is not improved. He looks down the range and sees a half-blood or an intermarried white man with these bulls, munching their cuds under barn roofs. "I bought these animals with my tribal money," thinks the Indian, "but those beautiful barn-bred mully-bulls seem not for me." Thus can the Indians' stock deteriorate.

To create a laugh in the office of Bonanza Sales Stable and Horse Dealers' Association, Inc., the supervisor can try an amusing trick. Sitting secure in the knowledge that his past record is sealed in the pigeon holes of a Washington office, he will be able to figure out a plan to improve Montana horses. Now to improve Montana horses is regarded a very difficult task, since Montana stock is regarded as about the hardiest range horse there is. However, since it is the *Indian* horse in Montana that is to be improved, the trick can be played. The directions are to go down into Iowa and buy a number of shiny-coated Percheron studs and ship them to the Montana reservations. Think of it, a barn-raised Percheron for a small range mare! The Percheron colt seldom stands to suckle when born, but is helped to its feet by the stockman. The result will be that the colts from the range mare and the barn-bred Percheron will die from exposure and from an inability to live without special care. They are unfit for range stock unless there are barns and corrals, which the full-blood may not possess.

The results are a laugh on the part of the sale stable owner, the failure of the Indians to raise horses, and added proof of their inability to do anything! Do not consult the Indians about Iowa stallions—they might refuse to endorse the idea.

These are just a few pointers of how to ruin the Indian stock industry.

We wonder if some one got ahead of us and has done it already. It might pay to inquire.

The Indian still has his enemies. Most of them now dress in the garb of his dearest friends. The Indian Office now and then is forced to expel one from its own ranks. Something happened recently at Blackfeet Agency, it is said, by order of the Interior Department itself.

We have this to say—a good many other things *ought* to happen.

Miss Kate Bernard—Friend of Friendless Indian Children

THE lands of Indian orphans and minor children in Oklahoma have proven a tempting bait for those capitalists and grafters who make a practice of enriching themselves from the weak, helpless and ignorant.

Oklahoma with its vast wealth of Indian lands has been particularly unfortunate in this respect. Honest officials in Oklahoma have had a desperate fight to save for the children of the red man the remainder of their inheritances. Among those who have fought in this dangerous fight against grafters and greedy capitalists, who seem devoid of all conscience, is Miss Kate Bernard, who has held for several years the office of commissioner of charities and corrections in Oklahoma. With rare ability this little woman is waging her plucky fight. Those who heard her at Lake Mohonk were astonished by her statements and impressed as well by her zeal.

Concerning her campaign the *Chicago Daily News* (Nov. 14, 1914) has this to say:

In the midst of what is perhaps the most unparalleled campaign in the interest of humanity, Miss Kate Bernard, State commissioner of charities and corrections of Oklahoma, effectively stripped of the constitutional authority vested in her office, is making what is admittedly the last stand against a corrupt political ring to prevent the destiny of the American Indian from being bartered for gold, an Oklahoma City correspondent of the *New York Herald* states.

Admittedly, also, the opponents of Miss Bernard hold the upper hand. Virtually their tactics, which are reflected as well in Washington legislative procedure as in this State, have ousted her from the office she now holds, but so far have been unsuccessful in effecting the slightest diminution in the ardor with which she and her supporters in the fight for the Indians have been waging their battle.

Into every corner of the State Miss Bernard is carrying her campaign, which has developed into a series of revelations that portray the governmental "guardianship" of the American aborigines as a colossal scandal, which promises to result in criminal prosecutions more extensive than any other State has ever known. Her revelations show that Indian minors are being gradually reduced to a state of abject pauperism by a coterie of dishonest politicians, who have grown wealthy by robbing those whom the Government is pledged to protect.

Miss Bernard's present campaign is the result of a successful fight the

alleged grafting politicians have waged against her championship of the Indian's cause. Twice she was elected to the position she now holds in the State government. Recently, however, the political schemers found her knowledge of their methods of robbing the Indians had become so extensive and accurate that, she alleges, they effectively stopped her work in behalf of the aborigines by causing the legislature to withhold the money with which to conduct her department. As a consequence Miss Bernard refused again to be a candidate for her present office and has entered upon the campaign to expose the corrupt influences which literally have pauperized the Indians, and which, it is conceded, must eventually turn the upgrowing Indian generation into the orphan asylums and other charitable homes of the State and Nation.

Already from interested supporters Miss Bernard has obtained contributions of more than \$8,000 for the conduct of her campaign. At least that much more, Miss Bernard stated, will be necessary if her fight is to be successful. So widespread is the influence of the clique against which she is working that her efforts to raise the funds have been partly defeated in the East as well as in this part of the country.

"The department of charities of Oklahoma has been wrecked," Miss Bernard said, explaining the methods of the men she declared the becoming wealthy by their robbery of the Indians under the legal provisions offered by the men whose ostensible duty it is to protect the property rights of the Government's wards.

"But this wrecking of my department is only one step in the biggest, most cold blooded plot to rob and plunder ever contemplated in American history. It is a plot which reaches all the way from Washington, D. C., involving millions of money and land and threatening the future of a race. It shows wealthy Indian minors living in the hollow of trees, while their 'guardians' are using their wealth and dissipating their fortunes."

Miss Bernard's fight against the corrupt influences goes back many years and covers all stages of the Indian question up to the State of Oklahoma the power of administering Indian affairs within its borders, which until recently was exercised by the Federal Government.

"These smooth but determined grafters," Miss Bernard said, "now have made their arrangements complete to grab the vast coal fields belonging to the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indian nations and the multiplied millions in oil and gas lands now belonging to the Chickasaws and Creeks and Cherokees. A low estimate of the money prize at stake is \$100,000,000, and the success of the plot means misery and poverty for 10,000 Indians. This stupendous wealth is now in the hands of 33,000 restricted Indians, most of whom are ignorant and helpless and cannot read or write. The remainder of the 100,000 Indians already have been robbed."

The facts brought to light by Miss Bernard are not unknown to the Department of Indian Affairs. Indeed, in his annual report for 1914 Commissioner Sells says:

I found this startling situation soon after my induction into office in June, 1913, and immediately proceeded to effect an organization whereby there might be assurance that this indefensible procedure might no longer maintain. . . . Widespread and gratifying results have already been ac-

complished. Wrongdoers have been prosecuted; estates have been recovered; dishonest and incompetent guardians have been removed; worthless bonds have been replaced with responsible bondsmen and many thousands of dollars have been saved to Indian minors and invested for their benefit.

The Commissioner has drafted a new set of probate rules as a result of his conferences with the conscientious officials of Oklahoma and anticipates their adoption by the State Legislature at an early date.

The situation in Oklahoma has been of such character that few can realize the heartless way in which children and ignorant Indians have been plundered. The forces of honesty have now the upper hand, it would seem from the Commissioner's report. We hope so for the fair name of a great state. We hope so for the sake of Kate Bernard who is struggling so zealously for the integrity of Oklahoma. More than all we hope so for the sake of the thousands of Indian orphans, and for the ignorant and the sick and the helpless whose simple natures are no match for the shrewdness of grafters.



Gabe E. Parker.

WHEN a new system was devised for the administration of Union Agency, many devoted friends of the Indian feared a political intrigue. Dana H. Kelsey had been an efficient officer and a staunch friend of the Indians of Oklahoma. His colleague, Commissioner J. G. Wright, had served faithfully under great pressure. To get them out of the way, it looked as if politicians had abolished their offices. We were sorry to see good men go.

We are pleasantly surprised, however, to find that the administration has provided for the new office of Commissioner of the Five Civilized Tribes one of Oklahoma's foremost citizens and a demonstrated friend of the Indians. The man is Hon. Gabe E. Parker, former Register of the Treasury. We wish him success in his opportunity, for we believe in such a man as Gabe E. Parker, and the Indians who trust in him need not fear.

*What Shall We Do to Redeem California's Neglect?**

Where Civilization Has Been as a Flame of Death

IN 1834, at the time of the secularization of the missions founded among the Indians by the Franciscans, there were at least 210,000 members of the race within the limits of the State; today there are 17,500. Dr. C. Hart Merriam, Chief of the Biological Survey at Washington, tells us that—

The principal cause of the appallingly great and rapid decrease in the Indians of California is not the number directly slain by the whites, or the number directly killed by whiskey or disease, but a much more subtle and dreadful thing: it is the gradual but progressive and resistless confiscation of their lands and homes, in consequence of which they are forced to seek refuge in remote and barren localities often far from water, usually with an impoverished supply of food, and not infrequently, in places where the winter climate is too severe for their enfeebled constitutions. Victims of the aggressive selfishness of the whites, outcasts in the land of their fathers, outraged in their most sacred institutions, weakened in body, broken in spirit, and fully conscious of the hopelessness of their condition, must we wonder that the wail for the dead is often heard in their camps?

The Government from time to time herded the scattered remnants of once powerful tribes upon reservations, but the conditions of such life were so hateful that only those whose spirits were completely broken by hardships remained within bounds, the more enterprising and hardy taking refuge from bondage in the thinly settled regions of the North, and along the foothills of the Sierras. As the white population gradually pressed in around them, all of the arable land was taken up, and the Indian became mere squatters on white men's land, or fugitives still further into the mountains.

Neither Federal nor State Governments protected these non-reservation Indians, and they were left to be the victims of an utterly indefensible race hatred. California Indians were a peaceful people, neither Sioux nor Apaches, and there was nothing in their conduct to excuse the horrible treatment they received from the white settlers. Here and there were found men of tender heart who befriended the Indian bands who occupied corners of great ranches. Indians were useful as laborers in clearing this land, and a number of contracts were made whereby the legal possessions of their home was guaranteed to them in lieu

*From the appeal of the California Indian Association.

of wages. But almost without exception no record was made of these contracts, and at the owner's death or the sale of the land it all passed into new possession, and the Indians were given notice to leave.

In 1851 Government officers made 19 treaties with California Indians, guaranteeing land, farming stock and implements, teachers, etc., to them if they would settle peacefully on these portions and relinquish claim to the larger tracts. The Indians kept these treaties, the white men hid them in the dark archives of the Senate, unreported and unratified.

Of the 17,500 Indians in California, about 3,500 are upon reservations in the South; 14,000 are found north of the Tehachapie line. Of these, 1,750 are upon reservations, 2,700 had obtained allotments, mostly of worthless land; 800 were upon land bought by Indians themselves, 300 on lands owned by private parties. The remaining 8,500 were literal squatters, with no legal title to their homes, and therefore, subject to frequent evictions. This defenseless condition has exposed our Indians to the contempt of white neighbors, so that few Indians can obtain justice in the courts, and most avenues of employment are closed against them.

These intolerable conditions appealed so strongly to the California Indian Association that a petition was prepared and sent to Congress, asking that California Indians be given homes, as had been done in the case of those in other States. After three years effort, in which many new friends joined in petition, a grant of \$100,000 was obtained, and the secretary of the association, Mr. C. E. Kelsey, was appointed special agent to administer it under the control of the Indian Office. A later grant increased this land fund by \$50,000. Little homes of from one to five acres are being bought and allotted to each landless family. The ownership will remain in the government so that the lands will be inalienable for 25 years. No change is made in the industrial status of the Indian. They will continue to earn their living precisely as they do now, by day's labor. All they gain is relief from the fear of eviction and a stimulus to the ambition to make civilized homes, because of secure tenure.

Thirty-two plots of land have been bought. The Indians are moving upon fifteen of these and the others will soon be arranged. The Mission Indians in the south have been aided by more land and irrigation. About 3,000 of the Indians have been included with the forest reserves.

Indian children have full legal right to an education provided

by the State, but out of a school population of 2,700, 1,800 are unable to obtain an education, because of racial prejudice. Rather than allow them to remain in ignorance, the Federal Government has, to a limited degree, extended to California the privilege of the Department's Indian school system. Under this we have four boarding and six day schools in northern California. These are all doing good work, but reach only a minority of the children of school age.

Without exception the testimony of the teachers is that Indian children compare favorably with white children in school, and the work shown by the grades reflects credit upon both teachers and pupils. They are unusually skillful in writing and drawing.

Among the very best agencies at work for the Indians are field matrons appointed by the Government. These women must pass a civil service examination and are then sent to an Indian settlement, where they care for the sick, teach the women domestic economy in all its branches of sewing, cooking, and household management. They also teach Sunday school classes and in every way try to lead their charges into a higher life. The letters which tell of their daily duties prove that we have genuine heroes among us. In light canoes on swollen rivers, on foot or on horseback, in storm, or in sunshine, they seek out the sick and the needy, and carry a message of cheer, a helping hand.

In other States and Territories, Indians are segregated upon reservations far from white settlements, and the Gospel must be carried to them by missions conducted especially for them. In California the Indians are found in little groups, making it impossible in most cases, to establish missions, with their expensive equipment, to minister to these scattered bands. They must be taught by the Christians living near them. The successful work of Mrs. Bidwell at Chico is a conspicuous example of what true Christian "neighborliness" means. At Middletown, in Lake County, and at Toulumme missions are being conducted.

There are probably 2,500 Indians receiving some religious instruction. There remain about 11,000 to whom the Gospel has never been preached. Many of these live within sight and sound of Christian churches, yet have never been invited into these houses.

This is a mission field at our very doors which belongs to us. Other races come to us at their own volition. We thrust ourselves upon the Indians, took their land, their food supply, their means of livelihood, and gave them in exchange little but our

vices. Wrote an old friend of the race: "I can not but think that the Indians' chance of Heaven is less since the white man came to California than before." His coming resulted in the death of 193,000 Indians in the course of 75 years. "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth to me from the ground." It is too late in time to plead the divine right of the white race to the earth and all upon it. God made the Indians with souls and bodies like our own: "Human nature bound in red," General Morgan called it. The supreme right of the strong white race is the right to protect the weak, to raise the fallen. We may have been selected to rule the world, but it is to be the rule of the followers of Him who said, "I am among you as he that serveth."



Dana H. Kelsey on Indian Education

IF all the children of full-blooded Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes could be provided with proper education and industrial training, the question of the support and physical welfare of the future generation would be effectually solved, and the Government would be enabled to relinquish its paternalistic attitude toward the Indian. Unless systematic and positive steps are taken toward this end to seek out and enforce compulsory education for all children of school age, the present generation will grow into practically the same class of incompetent and non-supporting citizenship as characterized their ancestors. Education, of course, will not emancipate the present adult class of Indians, and the best that can be done with them is to supervise and conserve their estates and to afford the greatest measure of personal instruction and training along the same lines as is now being rendered by the present force of agricultural agents and field clerks, which, to secure proper results, should be augmented instead of reduced.

It may be added here that splendid results could be accomplished by the detailing of field matrons, to be located at convenient points, whose duties would consist of instructing and advising Indian housekeepers in economy and efficiency in housekeeping, the teaching of the principles of sanitation and hygiene, and the rendering of actual aid in cases of severe illness.

Members Constituting the Fourth Conference

THE roster of the Madison Conference containing the list of the members personally registering in their own handwriting is as follows:

Active Members.

Oliver La Mere, Winnebago, Nebr.	Hiram Chase, Pender, Nebr.
Albert Hensley, Thurston, Nebr.	Joe Pete, Netawaka, Kans.
Ira O. Isham, Reserve, Wis.	Joe Smith, Mayetta, Kans.
Sherman Coolidge, Faribault, Minn.	Sara E. Mallon, Milwaukee, Wis.
Mitchell Neckdewadeck, Antego, Wis.	Wm. J. Kershaw, Milwaukee, Wis.
Estaiene M. Depeltquestangue, Massillon, Ohio.	Carlos Montezuma, Chicago, Ill.
Stephen Grover, Reserve, Wis.	Louis Armell, Winnebago, Nebr.
Billy Boy, Reserve, Wis.	Joseph O. Starr, Odanah, Wis.
Chas. H. Keale, Arapahoe, Wyo.	H. C. Ashmun, Odanah, Wis.
Julia Metoxen, Oneida, Wis.	A. G. Starr, Odanah, Wis.
Angeline Cook, Arpin, Wis.	Walter Scott, Odanah, Wis.
Louise Wheelock, West De Pere, Wis.	F. A. Greeley, Odanah, Wis.
Marie L. B. Baldwin, Washington.	Thomas F. Denomie, Odanah, Wis.
James Amequan, Reserve, Wis.	Angel Decora Deitz, Carlisle, Pa.
Stella O'Donnell, Pawnee, Okla.	John Hunter, Winnebago, Nebr.
Sally Coolidge, Faribault, Minn.	Clarence Fisher, Winnebago, Nebr.
Dennison Wheelock, West De Pere, Wis.	Gus. H. Beaulieu, White Earth, Minn.
Elizabeth G. Bender, Harlem, Mont.	San Saunooke, Altoona, Pa.
George Bender, Fosston, Minn.	Mrs. S. Saunooke, Altoona, Pa.
Mabel Sacquat, Horton, Kans.	Chauncey Yellow Robe, Rapid City, S. D.
Susie Sacquat, Horton, Kans.	Abraham S. Horse, Lower Brule, S. D.
	Henry Roe-Cloud, Colony, Okla.

Associate Membership.

Charles E. Brown, Madison, Wis.	Mrs. W. J. Kershaw, Milwaukee, Wis.
M. K. Sniffen, Philadelphia, Pa.	Elmer Lindquist, Lawrence, Kans.
Thomas C. Moffett, New York City.	Mrs. Walter C. Roe, Colony, Okla.
Grace Coolidge, Faribault, Minn.	Miss Caroline W. Andrus, Hampton, Va.
R. D. Hall, New York City.	Mrs. Edna H. Ford, Wanpum, Wis.
J. R. Wise, Lawrence, Kans.	Albert S. Flint, Madison, Wis.
Mrs. Lina Komitze Brown, Denver, Colo.	Miss Anna J. Ritter, Colony, Okla.
Martha R. Johnston, Baraboo, Wis.	

Indians—Non-members.

F. O. Setter, Hayward, Wis.	L. M. Rouilliard, Madison, Wis.
Mrs. F. O. Setter, Hayward, Wis.	Miss Gauthier, Milwaukee, Wis.

Book News and Book Views

The State

ONCE in many years a new book appears that crystalizes the thought of seekers of knowledge and points out a great truth in a startling manner. Such books bring men to a deeper understanding of important groups of facts. Truths are newly aligned and existing systems must move forward or failing to do so become impediments to progress.

"The State" (*Der Staat in Natwualökonomescher Hinsicht*) is one of the most important works on political economy ever published. Its writer is Franz Oppenheimer, Ph. D., private docent of political sciences in the University of Berlin. The work appears in its first English translation by John M. Gitterman, Ph. D.

This splendid work consists of seven chapters and an appendix of notes. A topical description of the chapters follows: Chapter (1), Theories of the State, discusses the sociological idea of the state; (2) The Genesis of the State, discusses (a) political and economic means, (b) peoples without a state: huntsmen, and grubbers, (c) peoples preceding the state: herdsman and Vikings, (d) the genesis of the state; (3) The Primitive Feudal State; (4) The Maritime State; (5) The Development of the Feudal State; (6) The Development of the Constitutional State; (7) The Tendency of the Development of the State.

The term "state" of course refers to an organized government of men having a definite territory; thus, England, the United States, and Uruguay are each states. A state, therefore, is a government. Oppenheimer in his first chapter discusses the origin of governments (states). The ordinary understanding of this origin as held by most men is described as follows:

Somewhere, in some far-stretching, fertile country a number of free men, of equal status form a union for mutual protection. Gradually they differentiate into property classes. The best endowed with strength, wisdom, capacity for saving, industry and caution, slowly acquire a basic amount of real or moveable property; while the stupid and less efficient, and those given to carelessness and waste, remain without possessions. The well-to-do lend their productive property to the less well-off in return for tribute, either ground rent or profit, and become thereby continually richer, while the others always remain poor. These differences in possession gradually develop social class distinctions; since everywhere the rich have preference, while they alone have time and means to devote to

public affairs and to turn the laws administered by them to their own advantage. Thus, in time, there develops a ruling and property owning estate, and a ——— class without property. The primitive state of free and equal fellows becomes a class-state by an inherent law of development, because in every conceivable class of men there are as may be seen strong and weak, clever and foolish, cautious and wasteful ones.

This theory, which "coincides with the experience of our daily life," according to the author is nevertheless "a fairy tale"—used to justify the privileges of the upper classes. "The class-state never originated in this fashion," asserts Oppenheimer, "—and never could have so originated." He then brings forth his proof ending with the assertion that the class-state could have only originated through conquest and subjugation. The distinguished German professor, basing his definition upon social and economic criteria, which he sustains by citation and argument throughout his book presents his idea of the origin of government (the state) in the following words:

The State, completely in its genesis, essentially, and almost completely during the first stages of its existence, is a social institution forced by a victorious group of men on a defeated group, with the sole purpose of regulating the dominion of the victorious group over the vanquished and securing itself against revolt from within and attacks from abroad. Teleologically, this dominion had no other purpose than the economic exploitation of the vanquished by the victors. No primitive state known to history originated in any other manner.

Oppenheimer shows that most men actually prefer to live from the labor of others and that men strive to enter a class wherein they are so politically entrenched that they do not have to work but live by the efforts and from the money of other men. He brings out in bold relief the idea that man himself and not wealth—money, goods, land—is the unit of political economy and that industrial monopoly is at present the source of all political and economic power. But he points out in an equally clear manner that this very foundation on which our modern social integration is built constitutes the gravest danger to its continuance.

"The State" will no doubt be a widely read book. It deserves a thorough study and an earnest consideration by those interested in the struggle of humanity to attain a real freedom and a just relation of its individuals.

"The State: Its History and Development Viewed Sociologically," by Franz. Oppenheimer, M. D., Ph. D. Authorized translation by John M. Getterman, Ph. D. The Bobbs Merrill Company. 8 mo. Cloth, \$1.25.

The Red Man as Soldier

THE ground for miles about Oneonta yields thousands of relics of its former occupation by Indian tribes and natives. The smiling Schoharie valley was many times the scene of Indian raids. Scores of settlers lost their lives by the Indians' hatchets. Reminded by these ancient relics, an author living in Oneonta (N. Y.), has written one of the finest descriptions extant, picturing the red man as a soldier. Two years ago this bit of writing came into the Book Critic's hands. He read it several times with genuine admiration and then sent the pamphlet—for it was issued in 152 pages unbound—to the finest book binder in the State of New York for binding. It now lies before the Book Critic regal in red morocco leather and gilt top. It bears the Critic's library mark on the cover and his book plate inside. This is just a mild indication of how this book is prized.

The writer of the work is Mr. Willard E. Yager, a student of archeology, a gentleman and a friend of the red man of the most genuine sort. In the six sections of his monograph he describes the military activities of the American Indian as the red man would like to have done himself. Truly this book, "The Red Man as Soldier," is not "a history of the red man by his enemy." It is a just treatise by a friend. Referring to his efforts, in his preface, Mr. Yager says: "The following pages were prepared as a part of a monograph on primitive Red warfare. They may very well stand by themselves however; and mindful of the uncertainties of life I print them now in passing justice to a great people long dumb, but who I doubt not will in fullness of time have advocates of their own—abler, as may well be, if not of better will." Here is modesty and optimism. Mr. Yager believes not only in the glory of the red man's past but hopes for his future. His six chapters discuss: (1) The Earlier Wars; (2) Before the Revolution; (3) In the Contest with England; (4) Beyond the Ohio; (5) Later Southern Wars; (6) The Trans-Mississippi Struggle.

"The Red Man as Soldier" is a clever bit of literature as well as good history. It is not published as a commercial venture and we do not know that the author ever offered a copy for sale. It is printed on such good paper, however, that it is a costly gift for Mr. Yager to make. We wish the monograph might be made generally available to students and friends of the red man. Until

it is it will be one of those book rarities that the book lover will value as a special prize.

"The Red Man as Soldier," by Willard E. Yager. Privately printed at Oneonta, N. Y. 8 mo. 152 pages, heavy linen.

Indian Tales for Little Folks

VERY few books purporting to be Indian tales prepared for children are actually Indian stories in all the details of thought and action. We have before us, however, a happy exception in a copy of *"Indian Tales for Little Folks,"* by W. S. Phillips (El Comanche). In his introduction he tells us of the fifty years he spent west of the Missouri and states that every story is genuine, a statement we believe strictly true. We have one great regret—the book contains only ten stories. After we have read these ten "we want some more." But the lack in tales is made up by eleven of the finest color drawings it has been our lot ever to see, as illustrations for Indian myths. This is not an idle attempt to bestow undeserved praise. The Book Critic for fifteen years has been familiar with many Indian drawings and known many painters of Indian life, and it is with the judgment this gives that we say that "El Comanche" in his paintings has not only plotted the picture, but drawn it as Indian eyes would see it, and with certain touches of Indian technique. Some of the best pictures in this respect are "The Story Teller," "The Bear Fell over the Bank," "They Knocked Unk-to-mi down," and "The Lynx Jumped Out."

The borders of the book are decorated with Indian pictographs. Those of many tribes are represented, but it would have added much value to the book to have used the designs of single tribes on each of the 80 pages, instead of mixing the symbols promiscuously. However, the book contains a key describing exactly what each pictograph is and giving its tribal origin.

The titles of these interesting stories are (1) How the Buffalo and the Grizzly Bear went to War; (2) Why the Catfish Has a Flat Head; (3) How the Buzzard Got His Black Coat; (4) The Quarrel Between the Beaver and the Porcupine; (5) How Fire Got in the Rocks and Trees; (6) Why the Woodchuck has Red Eyes; (7) How Nopi Made the Animals; (8) Why the Bluebird is Blue and the Coyote Gray; (9) Where the Yellow Jackets Came From; (10) The Story of the Little Rabbit and the Lynx.

Indian Tales for Little Folks, by W. S. Phillips (El Comanche). 80 pages portfolio; illustrated in color. Platt & Peck Co., New York. \$1.25.

Constitution and Laws of The Society of American Indians

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. This organization shall be known as THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN INDIANS.

ARTICLE II.—*Statement of Purposes.*

SECTION 1. The purposes of this Society shall be:

First. To promote and co-operate with all efforts looking to the advancement of the Indian in enlightenment which leave him free as a man to develop according to the natural laws of social evolution.

Second. To provide, through our open conference, the means for a free discussion on all subjects bearing on the welfare of the race.

Third. To present in a just light a true history of the race, to preserve its records, and to emulate its distinguishing virtues.

Fourth. To promote citizenship among Indians and to obtain the rights thereof.

Fifth. To establish a legal department to investigate Indian problems, and to suggest and to obtain remedies.

Sixth. To exercise the right to oppose any movement which may be detrimental to the race.

Seventh. To direct its energies exclusively to general principles and universal interest, and not allow itself to be used for any personal or private interest.

"The honor of the race and the good of the country will always be paramount."

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The membership of this organization shall be divided

into five classes, namely: Active, Indian-Associate, Associate, Junior, and Honorary.

Active members and Indian-Associates shall be adult persons of Indian blood only and they only may vote and hold office, but Indian-Associates may vote only upon questions relating to their own tribal interests.

Indian-Associate members shall be Indians from other parts of America than the United States or persons of Indian blood not on any tribal roll and having less than one-sixteenth Indian blood.

Junior members shall be Indians under the age of twenty-one years.

Associate members shall be persons of non-Indian blood interested in Indian welfare.

Honorary members shall be such persons of distinguished attainment as the Society may choose to elect.

SEC. 2. The officers of this Society shall be a President, a First Vice-President, a Secretary-Treasurer, and three Vice-Presidents of Divisions. These officers shall constitute the Executive Council.

SEC. 3. No officer, except the Secretary-Treasurer and the President* may hold the same elective office for more than two successive years, and the President may not be from the same State as his predecessor.

SEC. 4. Only Active members in good standing shall be eligible to hold office in this Society, either elective or appointive.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. For the execution of its purposes the Society shall be

*By amendment at the Madison Conference, 1914.

divided into different lines of work, namely: Membership, Legislation, and Education. Each line of work thus specified shall be known as a division and a vice-president, except the First Vice-President, shall be a Chairman of a Division.

SEC. 2. If any vacancy occurs in the office of the Society, the President, with the consent of the Council, shall fill it by temporary appointment.

SEC. 3. There shall be an Advisory Board elected consisting of fifteen Active members. The functions of this Board shall be purely advisory.

ARTICLE V.

SECTION 1. Amendments to this Constitution shall be submitted in writing at a session of a regular or special convention, but shall not be adopted except by a majority of two-thirds of the members registered at a special conference.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.—*Dues.*

SECTION 1. Dues in this Society shall be payable in advance and shall be two dollars a year for all classes of membership except Honorary and Junior.

Dues of Junior members shall be fifty cents per annum.

SEC. 2. Members who are two years in arrears for dues shall lose the right to vote, hold office, and receive the publications of the Society.

SEC. 3. Members in arrears for dues may be suspended from membership upon recommendation of the Vice-President on Membership and the Secretary-Treasurer; but reinstatement may be had upon re-application for membership and subsequent election in accordance with the rules governing the admission

of new members, but all former indebtedness must be paid.

ARTICLE II.—*Quorum.*

SECTION 1. A majority of members of the Executive Council shall constitute a quorum. An absent member, if he so desires, may send in writing a proxy vote, duly signed, on any question coming before the Council, to be cast by a present member.

SEC. 2. In all other committees a majority of members shall constitute a quorum.

SEC. 3. A conference quorum shall consist of twenty members.

ARTICLE III.—*Membership.*

SECTION 1. Nominations for membership shall be submitted in writing to the Division of Membership and be passed upon by it, but members may not be elected except by a two-thirds vote in a conference, though they may become provisional members up to the time of a conference.

ARTICLE IV.—*Headquarters.*

SECTION 1. The Headquarters of this Society shall be in Washington, D. C., and the General Secretary-Treasurer shall have his office there, or at such a place as may be most convenient to him.

ARTICLE V.—*Duties of Officers.*

SECTION 1. The duty of the President shall be to preside at all business meetings and on all public occasions unless otherwise arranged and he shall be ex-officio member of all committees.

SEC. 2. The duty of the First Vice-President shall be to co-operate with the President and he shall perform the duties of the President in his absence or upon request by the President when so ordered.

SEC. 3. (a) The Secretary-Treasurer shall be ex-officio member of all

committees. He shall devote such time as may be necessary to carry on the work of the Society and for the proportion of time so devoted he shall receive a salary at the rate of \$2,000 per annum.* With the approval of the Executive Council he shall be empowered to employ competent clerks. He shall have charge of such documents and records which the Society shall order to be printed and shall have such documents and records printed.

(b) The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep and file the minutes of all business meetings; he shall keep a record of all work and business done by the Society and shall receive and file the written reports of all officers and committees. Each year he shall submit a written report of his activities, reading it in a conference of the Society, and each month he shall send a statement of the financial standing of the Society to every member of the Executive Council.

(c) In his capacity of Treasurer he shall have charge of the funds of the Society under the direction and supervision of the Executive Council. He shall receive and collect dues, subscriptions, and donations or other funds coming to the Society, and shall keep an accurate account of all receipts, bills, and disbursements. He shall have authority to deposit in a bank the funds of the Society and to withdraw and to disburse such funds of the Society, but all bills before payment shall be submitted to the President for his approval and indorsement. He shall be directly accountable in financial matters to the Executive Council and at the annual conference shall submit a detailed report of the income, funds, disbursements, and obligations of the Society, which report shall have been previously

audited by a committee of at least three members appointed by the President.

(d) The Secretary-Treasurer shall be empowered to draw upon the funds of the Society for traveling and other expenses incident to the prosecution of his official duties for the Society.

(e) The Secretary-Treasurer shall furnish a penal bond in such sum as the Executive Council may require and in no case shall it be less than \$2,000.

SEC. 4. The Membership Division shall institute and carry out an active campaign to obtain members for the Society and shall distribute information regarding membership and other matters among those who should be interested in our aims. It shall pass upon candidates and examine carefully into their claim to Indian blood, and refer any questions to the Executive Council. It shall present the names of candidates to each annual conference for election or other disposition.

SEC. 5. The Legislative Division shall keep in touch with all legislation proposed by Congress relating to Indian affairs and communicate with those Indians affected thereby, and this division shall convey through sources it may choose to a legislature or to Congress any resolutions or action passed by the Society and seeking to affect legislation.

SEC. 6. The Education Division shall compile statistics relative to all Indian matters of vital importance and shall supply information upon request of the Society or to any of its officers or members, as far as it may be able. It shall also investigate for the Society the problems of Indian education, the conditions and policies of schools where Indians are trained or edu-

*Amended by resolution of the Madison Conference (1914) to read \$3,000.

cated and it shall have the right in behalf of the Society to suggest improvements where such are necessary. This division shall concern itself with the problems of public health in Indian communities, with agricultural, manual and academic training and it shall encourage the conservation of correct Indian history, art and literature, and the just presentation of these subjects to Indian students.

ARTICLE VI.—*Authorized Expenses.*

SECTION 1. The Society shall not be responsible for any expense incurred by its officers or members in the discharge of their duties or any other means unless the expenditure has been specifically authorized by the Executive Council.

ARTICLE VII.—*Annual Conference.*

SECTION 1. A general conference of this Society shall be held annually at such a place and date as may be determined upon by the Executive Council.

ARTICLE VIII.—*Maintenance.*

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall see that suitable offices are provided for the use of the Society and that needful equipment is provided.

ARTICLE IX.—*Auditing Committee.*

SECTION 1. An Auditing Committee shall be appointed by the President at an annual conference of the Society to audit and report the accounts of the Secretary-Treasurer, and to examine other reports involving accounts of expenditures.

ARTICLE X.—*Special Committees*

SECTION 1. The President shall have power to appoint and to dismiss special committees.

ARTICLE XI.—*Principal Papers.*

SECTION 1. Members desiring to present principal papers for a con-

ference shall submit them in legible form to the General Secretary-Treasurer at least two weeks before the date of the annual conference at which they are to be read.

ARTICLE XII.—*Program and Discussion.*

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall prepare the annual program and the Secretary shall advise the Council of the intention of an Indian to submit a paper.

SEC. 2. Special time shall be set aside for discussion of Indian subjects at each conference, for reading special papers and for other matters specified by the program and a free discussion shall be encouraged upon all subjects treated by speakers on Indian matters.

SEC. 3. The floor of the convention is intended primarily for active members and for authorized tribal delegates of Indian blood, but other members and persons may be invited upon motion, to speak upon Indian matters, or they may speak at will in such sessions as may be set aside for joint council and discussion.

ARTICLE XIII.—*Order of Business.*

SECTION 1. During the business sessions the order of business shall be:

1. Reading of the minutes of the previous conference.
2. Reports of council divisions.
3. Reports of standing committees.
4. Reports of special committees.
5. Deferred business.
6. New business.
7. Election of members.
8. Election of officers.

ARTICLE XIV.—*Term of Office.*

SECTION 1. The term of office in this Society shall be one year, or from one annual conference to another.

All officers of this Society shall be subject to a recall from office, for reasonable cause, the procedure for which shall be prescribed by the Executive Council.

ARTICLE XV.—*Amendments.*

SECTION 1. Amendments to the by-laws shall be made in the same manner as amendments to the constitution.

Policy Stating That Officers May not Hold Office in Other National Societies of Indians

The Society of American Indians has no antagonism to any other Indian Association which has for its purpose the advancement of the Indian race; but we deem it for the best interest of our Society that no officer of this organization shall

accept a position of trust in any other similar organization during the time for which he has been elected to serve the Society of American Indians.—*Adopted at Denver, October 17, 1913.*

Summary of the Resolution Adopted at the Second Conference Creating the Quarterly Journal

An official organ known as *The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians* shall be published by the Society. It shall be issued through the office of the Secretary-Treasury and he shall be the Editor-General. The Quarterly Journal shall be devoted to the immediate needs relating to the advancement of the Indian race in en-

lightenment and historical accounts or fiction shall not be published unless there shall be sufficient space. The Journal shall not engage in personal controversy or promote private enterprise, but shall concern itself with the general welfare of the race along broad lines. The subscription shall be \$1.00 a year to members and to non-members, \$1.50.

Policy Relating to Local Meetings

Local gatherings of members of the Society shall not have the powers of the general conference. Such meetings are to be encouraged for the purpose of discussing the aims and work of the Society and it is desired that some principal officer or member of the Advisory Board familiar with the aims of the Society and with the spirit of the Conferences be the presiding officer at such local gatherings. Local meetings may not pass resolutions or enact platforms binding, or seeming to commit, the Society to sup-

port them. They may, however, recommend to the Executive Council a plan of action, or bring to its attention subjects that should be considered by the Annual Conference. The purpose and programme of a local meeting or conference must be submitted in writing to the Executive Committee. It is recommended that an officer of the Society familiar with the objects and methods of the Society as expressed at its Annual Conferences preside over local meetings.

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VOLUME II

The

NUMBER I

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JANUARY—MARCH, 1914

ARTHUR C. PARKER, Editor-General

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